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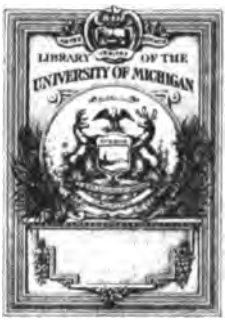

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THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XLIV. 1920. No. 1.

THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF JOHN ADAMS.

BY FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE, Ph.D., LL.D.
Professor of Political Science and Constitutional Law, University of Pittsburgh.

John Adams
(1735–1826)

"The body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals: it is a social compact, by which the whole people covenants with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws, for the common good. It is the duty of the people, therefore, in framing a Constitution of Government, to provide for an equitable mode of making laws, as well as for an impartial interpretation, and a faithful execution of them; that every man may, at all times, find his security in them. . . .

"In the government of this Commonwealth, the legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them; the executive shall never exercise the legislative and judicial powers, or either of them; the judicial shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them; to the end it may be a government of laws and not of men."

Constitution of Massachusetts, 1780.
(Written by Adams.)

I

John Adams, in his life and in his writings, exemplified the principles of representative government and American institutions: he is the man of affairs, the patriot and the sage. The figure of the man, which

lingers perhaps faintly in the popular mind, is that figure which Webster has drawn in one of the most imaginative of speeches,—the picture of the Colossus on the floor in that memorable debate on the Declaration of Independence; he is the expositor of the times, the voice of America crying out for freedom and nationality. Yet, in the voluminous writings of Adams, scarcely a dozen lines may be found of what he said on that occasion, while he has left thousands of pages which record his other services to his country in helping make American independence a benefaction for the whole world.

Adams belongs to the heroic age of American statesmanship. His services in the old Congress are not surpassed in civic value by those of any of his peers and as representative of the infant nation in Holland, France and England, his services long since became a standard and gauge for ministers and embassadors,—a unit of measure in diplomatic affairs. For ten years he won diplomatic victories for his country amidst obstacles before which old and established embassies had faltered. Not merely did he negotiate treaties which allied Holland and France, and ultimately Prussia, in bonds of peace with America, but he applied new principles of international law and opened a new era in commerce and the welfare of nations. The indebtedness to him is international. Without the support of armies, fleets, courts, alliances, or national traditions he, standing quite alone, met the foremost diplomats of European states, compelled their confidence and respect, persuaded them, almost against their wills, to enter into advantageous relations with the new Republic in the West, and began that democratization of Europe which has been going on, now, for more than a century.

Franklin had not labored alone, in Europe, to win allies to the cause. As a diplomat, John Adams, among

early American statesmen, is second only to Franklin, yet the two statesmen were so unlike that they may be said to have had only patriotism in common. John Adams was a Puritan of the Puritans and, like his kind, was admired and respected rather than loved. At least one is led to this conclusion by the testimony of his contemporaries. How many, of the many who have passed judgment on John Adams as an historical personage, have made themselves familiar with his writings? Yet no other equal source of knowledge of the first principles of American government remains. Adams was conscious of the magnitude of the events amidst which he moved and acted. His insight was penetrating and, despite his powerful prejudices, was usually correct. Posterity is discovering,—perhaps slowly,—that Adams rarely erred in judgment in a matter of public concern; his political sense was national; his courage unbounded, his devotion to duty the grand passion of his life. It is in the writings of John Adams one finds the most coherent account of the whole course of American affairs from the Stamp Act, in 1765, to the accession of Jefferson to the Presidency, thirty-five years later. And then follows all that notable correspondence and comment, between the two statesmen for a quarter of a century longer. Adams's long experience in Congress, and in the diplomatic service before his election as Vice-President and as President, led him, as it were unconsciously, by his voluminous reports and yet more voluminous correspondence, to touch on every principle of American government, and his profound and varied learning equipped him to expound where the ordinary public man would have merely, and doubtless inadequately, recorded. He had convictions concerning government; he was a statesman with ideas and a policy, and he was rarely inclined to yield first place. One may reject his theory of government and administration but cannot deny to

his writings extraordinary clearness, force, and interest. There is a striking likeness between his administration and that of Martin Van Buren,—though the two men are comparable only by their contrasting characteristics,—each inherited a policy from his predecessor; each came to the Presidency at the end of an era; each was bitterly attacked by the rising powers of a new time, and the one, not unlike the other, is remembered as the associate of a greater man: it is Washington *and* Adams; Jackson *and* Van Buren. But the parallel is brief and feeble and does not run to the root of affairs.

Adams remains the classic expositor of extreme Federalism,—a wing of early American politics to which Washington was accused, at times, of belonging. High Federalism has never enrolled the majority of Americans, but its essential, conserving ideas doubtless gave form and stability to the government during the administration of Washington and Adams, and its lofty conception of the functions of government were embodied in that statesman whom Adams appointed Chief-Justice of the United States,—John Marshall.

When John Adams returned to America,* to become Vice-President of the United States, no man living had done more than he to explain and to exploit the principles,—or, as he at the time entitled them,—the 'Constitutions of Government' of the United States. He was the chief apostle of the new doctrines, devotion to which was building up a new nation in the New World. It was inevitable that his writings should provoke both applause and condemnation. The closing years of the eighteenth century experienced many extremes in political theory. His formal works on 'government,' read now in the twentieth century, may strike one as merely academic comparisons of all ancient systems of

* He sailed for America April 20, 1788.

applied politics, and, as a final apology, not entrancing in style or exhaustive in content, for the theories and concepts of representative government developed and were formulated in America.

These political studies are now quite forgotten. Who, it may be asked, now reads John Adams's, *Works on Government?* Who concerns himself about his analyses of Republics, as Democratic, Aristocratic, or Monarchical? Who, the questioner may continue, takes the trouble to follow John Adams among the mazes of Thebes and Locris, of Rome or Crotona? Might we not also ask, Who giving his nights and his days to Addison, like the young Franklin, writes and re-writes his own effusions half a dozen times in order to attain the clarity and elegance of the *Spectator?* Who in the twentieth century projects himself into the thought of the eighteenth for any purpose, other than to become a purveyor of foot-notes and comments? Nevertheless, who would venture to deny the indebtedness of posterity to Addison or, if the questioner has respect for safety, would deny that posterity has gained no benefit from any and all efforts of men of yesterday,—however far away that day,—who examined the foundations of government and set their conclusions for the general welfare? The world knows its Montesquieu and its Machiavelli, its Grotius and its Harrington, its Locke and its Bentham: and the world also knows its humbler expounders of political institutions, of whom, among Americans, John Adams as yet holds quite the foremost place; for as yet, America has not given to the world a political philosopher of the first rank.

Since Adams wrote his treatises, the United States has become the mighty precedent in a form of civil practice called representative government, which its enthusiastic advocates make no hesitation in affirming is adapted to the whole world. John Adams wrote while yet that precedent was an experiment in its

initial stage. All Europe was astonished and delighted by the experiments of Franklin in electricity, nor were sciolists of that day lacking who believed that they saw in these experiments the key to all mysteries, the foundations of all philosophy, the ultimate laws of being and conduct.

Europe was swept by a so-called scientific revival, as witness the rise and progress of the physiocrats, Quesnay, of agile mind, seeking, and as they would have us believe, finding a universal exposition of the wants of man and the satisfaction of these wants in the natural constitution and order of human society; that government should accord with the nature of things, the world itself being governed by immutable physical and moral laws; that it is for man to discover and to obey them, for his own good, or, disobeying,—for his own evil. The end assigned to the exercise of his intellectual and physical powers is the appropriation of matter for the satisfaction of his wants, and the improvement of his condition, and the general accomplishment of this task conformably to the idea of the just, which is the correlative of the idea of the useful. Man forms an idea of justice and utility, both individual and social, through the notions of duty and right, which his own nature reveals to him, and which teach him that it is contrary to his good and the general welfare to seek his own advantage in a damage to others. This idea, entering the minds of individauls and peoples in proportion to the increase of enlightenment and the advance of civilization, naturally produces feelings of fraternity among men and peace among peoples. The chief manifestations of justice are liberty and property; that is to say, the right of each person to do that which shall in no way concern the general welfare and to use at his pleasure the things which he possesses, the acquirement of which has been conformable to the nature of things and to the general utility, since with-

out liberty and property there would have been no civilization. Liberty and property spring, then, from the nature of man and are rights so essential that laws or agreements among men should be limited to recognizing them, to formulating them, and to saving them. Governments have no mission other than to protect these two rights which, when things are correctly understood, embrace all the material and moral wants of society. To say that liberty and property are essential rights is to say that they are in harmony with the general interests of the species; that is, with them, land is made more fertile, and the industry of man, in its manifestations, is made more productive; the development of all his aptitudes—moral, intellectual, scientific, and artistic—is swifter. They are in the field of the good and beautiful, the just and the useful. Through them man best gathers the fruit of his own efforts and is not, at least, the victims of the arbitrary laws of his fellow men. So the savants of Europe taught, toward the close of the eighteenth century, and Adams could not escape the influence of these doctrines; they were much in the air of the New World. Their meaning and purpose seem to be formulated in the Constitution of Massachusetts of 1780,—"a child, (writes Adams) of which I was, right or wrong, the putative father,"—"to the end," (says that constitution,) "that it may be a government of laws and not of men."

But Adams's concept of the purpose and functions of government are more completely expressed elsewhere in that constitution, as in its provision,—the earliest of the kind on record, for universal education at the expense of the State,—the celebrated provision for public schools, grammar schools, the University at Cambridge, private societies and public institutions, the promotion of the arts and sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country, and "to countenance and inculcate the prin-

ciples of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings, sincerity, good humor, and all social affections and generous sentiments among the people." Whatever may be read into other constitutions of government among men, this was the first to include such purposes and to express them in such language. "I was somewhat apprehensive," (writes Adams, some thirty years later,) "that criticism and objections would be made to the section, and particularly that the "natural history", and "the good humor", would be stricken out; but the whole was received very kindly and passed the convention unanimously without amendment." He at the same time remarks that with one exception, the chief offices of the state had been filled by persons not noted among their fellow-citizens for any superior acquisitions of learning or culture, and that a considerable number had not gone through the higher grades of education in Massachusetts at all,—an assertion doubtless true as yet not merely throughout America but throughout the world. If this be confession of failure to realize the true ends of government, one may find consolation in the reflection that, tested by fullness of realization, not education alone, but every effort of man for betterment, whatsoever the sphere of activity, that Christianity itself, has failed. And there remains the larger consolation that man is ever on the way to civilization.

John Adams discloses an enormous capacity for business, a genius for work, a patience in analysis and examination of conditions, an accuracy of statement, a forcefulness in expression and a persuasion of justice. Accustomed to doing his own thinking, he easily, —one may say he temperamentally—fell into the habit of doing much of the thinking for those about him. Early in life he discovered with how little wisdom the world is run. The varied, the accumulative, the

accumulated learning of Adams; his vast and acknowledged services to his country; his integrity, his courage,—all his virtues,—and they shone bright in that naughty world through which he moved,—would have shone with less fading lustre had he possessed what the world calls—tact. But nature seldom bestows on one man all the graces; she denied the same rare quality to Adams's chief political enemy,—Alexander Hamilton; she showered the gift on Franklin and Jefferson,—yet, with seeming caprice, their whole lives denying them notable qualities which she so generously bestowed on Hamilton and Adams. Had Adams possessed the tact of Abraham Lincoln, the two statesmen would be considered by the world as more alike than any other two in American history. But it is idle,—not to say wrong, to condemn a man, even a very great man, for not having what he lacks by nature; rather should we render homage for the services he performs with that which he has. Time brings statesmen into the true perspective, and time shows ever more clearly the true statesmanship of Adams. Of what that statesmanship was he never for a moment leaves the world in doubt: the sovereignty, the freedom, the independence, the welfare of his country: "Independence Forever!", as he tersely expressed it, almost with his last breath,—the words of the toast which he proposed for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the great Declaration,—the anniversary which was to be the day of his death.

Time has proved that John Adams was seldom wrong and that his detractors, during his lifetime, were seldom right. His was from first to last a noble consistency which the years were to illumine and to explain to mankind. He saw his country in possibility as posterity sees it in fact: the power of the New World; and he saw in its fundamental principles of government the hope of mankind; and if it was not vouschafed to him

to see with vision unimpaired, compelling cause for "a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people", he saw, quite as clearly as did Lincoln that "a majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people", and that "whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism."

It is well, in these days of unrest, to know the thoughts of our great statesmen, to drink afresh at the fountains of their inspiration, to look forth upon the world through their eyes, to attempt to measure again the meaning, the possibilities of civil and religious liberty. These possibilities, heavy with fate for us all, are in peril of becoming trite, not to say of abandonment, in the eyes of modern America; for the children cannot understand the fathers, nor feel their sufferings and anxieties. And to him to whom the possibilities of American life are mere darkness and void, the next scene is 'the deluge.' It is a program of reason, led by whitehanded hope, which we must follow. There are principles of action which we must obey. No government ever yet devised by man is automatic; it is vocational service, endless, universal, beneficent,—upon which we were entered by the patriots who long ago gave shape and form to our institutions. We must know from whence we came would we understand where we are, and have worthy conceptions of whither we are going. If we would see quite through the deeds of men we must fathom their motives and reach the very bedrock of their theories of the state.

Europe has twice found America,—first when Columbus came to the New World; and again when Franklin and Adams came to the Old World. It was a remarkable experience, this introduction of the United States to the older nations; the time seems far, far

removed from the present, when wealth and power have come to dwell with us, and shallow minds in America look with contempt on Europe, and shallow minds in Europe look with contempt on America. Some one was to be the expounder of America to Europe,—and he was John Adams. Not Franklin, you ask? No, not Franklin, of whom John Adams himself pronounced the loftiest panegyric yet uttered. Franklin was "a citizen of the world"; Adams, of America. Franklin had lived contentedly under any government which disturbed not his large activities and even suffered him, as he would say, "to do good". Not so Adams. To the horizon of his activities a republic was essential; a government of laws and not of men; a political system founded on truly conceived and duly guarded functions of activity, —threefold,—executive, legislative, judicial, each moving along its appointed course, all co-ordinated as a civil system, harmonious as the vast universe of which it forms an essential, however slight, a part.

This splendid political mechanics formed no part of Franklin's understanding of government, but formed the essential part of that of John Adams. It formed Washington's political world,—it was that conception, and it remains that conception of government which is based upon law. It is essentially the contractual theory of the state. "The body politic", so the constitution of Massachusetts declares, "is formed by a voluntary association of individuals: it is a social compact, by which the whole people covenants with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws, for the common good".

This is the fundamental in John Adams's political creed.* Rousseau and Adams were contemporaries for

* While I was living in Geneva, Switzerland, Professor Charles Borgeaud, well known to American scholars, told me of a tradition, at the University of Geneva, that Burlamaqui's interpretation of "Natural right" had been conveyed to Harvard College by some disciple of

more than forty years. It does not appear that they ever met or were in correspondence. Nor does Adams disclose in his writings discipleship of the great agitator. Yet the passage in the constitution of Massachusetts, basing all on the "social compact", a passage written possibly in the very year of Rousseau's death and embodied in the fundamental law of the Commonwealth within two years of that event, seems a startling echo of Rousseau's utterance of the 'social pact': "To find a form of association which may defend and protect against the community the person and property of every associate, and by means of which each, coalescing with all, may nevertheless obey only himself, and remain as free as before',—such is the fundamental problem of which the social contract furnishes the solution". Running through John Adams's voluminous exposition of government, Rousseau's solution may be found; nor is that solution limited to these writings; it may be found set forth in all the American constitutions of government of the eighteenth century, and in their successors of the nineteenth down to an entirely new group of constitutions, beginning in 1889–90, notably among new western States, in which the doctrine of the social contract is either omitted, or subordinated to an economic interpretation which quite eliminates the original theory. Nor, meanwhile, have powerful minds been lacking who have repudiated the social contract theory of the state as false to all social facts and conditions.

Burlamaqui, and that John Adams, then a student at Harvard, had imbibed the notion from this disciple (possibly an instructor). President Lowell has been kind enough to have a search made into the matter with result of no revelation as to special instructor or course of study in Adams's time which would seem to support the tradition. An examination of the Constitution of Massachusetts (1780) written by Adams discloses the doctrine of "social compact," and possibly of "natural rights." Whatever the source of Adams's ideas on the subject, the constitution which took form under his hand reflects the dominant political concept of the eighteenth century.

Expounders of government abound, at present, who proclaim Adams's basic conception of politics as unscientific, unfounded in human experience, and preventive of the natural operation of civil forces in society. Adams himself is directly assailed as a false interpreter of civic elements, and his advocacy of the tripartite division of government; of the separation of powers,—as legislative, executive and judicial,—and, in a word,—his merely legal concept of government, have been vigorously denied as having any just foundation. This means that whatsoever concept of government may prevail in any age may not prevail in a later. And yet, it is common knowledge that the compact theory of government, as expounded by John Adams, is the working basis of the entire American system. The law of contract includes quite all the activities, the conduct, the interests of men,—and the state is commonly conceived as the supreme power which in final resort compels performance of the contract. Adams was not a mere legalist but he viewed the world as a world governed by law. His mind was juridicial in its processes. He could not conceive of government as other than of law. Hence the advocacy he made of the 'social compact' as a working device. Never,—so it appears,—did Washington enter upon an analysis of civil principles: he took the world as he believed he found it,—authority, on the one hand, obedience on the other: security of life, liberty and property the supreme end. Adams went deeper into the principles of government,—into the laws of political well-being, the metes and bounds of the state as a voluntary association of individuals covenanting under the social compact.

It would be highly interesting could there be traced in John Adams the immediate influence of Burlamaqui's teachings on and in America. It is known that Adams, at Harvard, heard lectures on the principles of

natural law, from the lips of a disciple of Burlamaqui, and the teachings of the master are well known. The influence of Geneva at Harvard shows itself throughout Adams's political convictions,—and that influence meant the supremacy of the social contract. One needs but turn to the pages of *Principes du Droit Naturel* to discover much of John Adams's interpretation of what Rousseau calls "the fundamental problem". The teachings of Burlamaqui at Geneva and at Leyden, carried over to Harvard, helped,—somewhat curiously,—later, in the person of John Adams,—to make clearer to France and Holland, and Europe generally, the principles on which American institutions were declared to rest. Undoubtedly Adams's *Defense of the American Constitutions* as based upon and exemplifying the theory of the social compact was the more willingly received and the more influential throughout Europe because it added new and persuasive examples of the validity of the theory. That which revolutionary Europe was teaching, the new Republic in far-away America was establishing as its fundamental conception of politics. Europe was eager to receive what John Adams was as eager to give.

This service of educating Europe concerning America engaged John Adams for ten years when, the service done, he returned to America. The period remains the most productive period of his life. It was necessary that Europe be so taught, and no expositor could have surpassed Adams in the fidelity and efficiency of the service. Franklin was the man, the individual, exemplifying in himself the choice, the rare, perhaps the rarest product of the New World. But a nation cannot be judged, for all purposes, even by its most famed individuals. Institutions must excel as well as individuals. Society must exist as well as the man. What Franklin sought to do, consciously or unconsciously, as an individual, in defense of the claims of America,

Adams sought to do consciously, in defense of America as a nation, as the embodiment of civil institutions. It is true that Franklin first published abroad the texts of the American State Constitutions, and these outlines of American civil ideas undoubtedly carried instruction, if they did not work conviction. But Adams went further: he would compare all liberal governments, of all time, and demonstrate to Europe the superior claims of America to the decent respect of the whole world. The services differ in degree rather than in kind. Neither of these men could have done the other's work. Adams's books on comparative government are forgotten. The field is a favorite with all writers on politics. Madison entered it a short way when he compiled a brief *View* of republican governments before he took his seat in the Philadelphia Convention of 1787. In our own day it continues to be the practice, whenever a state would frame a new constitution, for the delegates to assign to some group of men the task of collecting, and possibly of collating, the fundamental laws of all the states throughout their history; and New York, in 1894, went even further, by collecting and printing for the use of the delegates, all the constitutions at the time in force in foreign nations. The purpose of such a labor was the precise purpose of John Adams during his long residence in Europe as American minister,—to collect the serious records of civil experience, in order to secure the essential ends of government. The fruits of this service of Adams were immediate and important: commercial treaties between America, France, Holland, Prussia, and England,—and not least,—perhaps most important of all,—a contribution to that movement which culminated directly in the French Revolution, and,—as the seething elements of the time subsided,—an aid to democracy in Europe, —a transformation still going on.

Called to the vice-presidency,—a small office for a

great statesman,—an office which may be described as a contingent political estate in expectancy, for four years John Adams complimented and supplemented and aided in rounding out and completing the work which Washington sought to do. It was a period creative of precedents, when Fortune was scattering germens of discontent which later, and soon, should grow into counter-revolution in a thousand forms. Called to the presidency,—a great office for a great statesman,—an office which may be described as a political estate of unknown metes and bounds, and of unknown resources, the storm broke; an era of beginnings came to an end, a counter-revolution ushered in, seemingly without ceremony, the reign of democracy. What hope for fame,—or even for remembrance, for the man who should be President amidst such changes as occurred between the administrations of Washington and those of Jefferson! And yet, it is clear to posterity that the one moment when John Adams could be elected President of the United States was the moment of his election, and there was no reasonable hope that Opportunity would thus cross his path twice. To the curious the times and the man seem to come again when another Vice-President followed a President of immense popularity and served amidst a political revolution, every process of which was preparing his own downfall. But it is impossible, as it has been said, to make a figure of speech walk on all fours. Jackson was not Washington, though he may have persuaded himself that he was the savior of his country; Van Buren was not John Adams, though he too served as legislator, as minister, as Vice-President, and as President. Nor was the 'reign of Andrew Jackson', as the more radical Whigs denominated his administrations, a transcript of what the Jacobins were pleased to call the 'reign of King George'. Times change. Men may not lose their reason: they only think

differently. The America of Jackson's time was another America, interpreting fundamentals of government wholly different from that interpretation set forth by Washington and John Adams. Yet, though Adams was caught up by the very torrent of change such as at times sweeps over republics and seems to overwhelm and destroy the ancient landmarks, the waters at last receded and it was discovered that the foundations of the state which Adams had helped lay were not moved.

To the political overthrow of Adams, Alexander Hamilton was chief contributor, and the fatally brilliant impolicy of that contribution remains one of the astonishing events of the time. So overpowering has been the influence of Hamilton's genius, historians, as yet, seem hardly to dare record the unwisdom (to use a mild term) of his course. Hildreth, the great Federalist historian, does not hesitate to condemn Adams and to laud Hamilton, and this early interpretation of their conduct seems to be a sufficient precedent for most later writers. Even had Hamilton never written, or had he never privately printed his attack on Adams; had Burr never obtained the fatal, secret sheets and published them, Jefferson must soon have come into the presidency and democracy have instituted its new régime. But Hamilton, by his hostile attitude toward the official chief of the Federalist party, by his acts both secret and public, seriously, possibly irreparably, damaged his claim to enrollment as a great political leader. It is the old story of party schism, jealousy, rage, dissolution. Charles Francis Adams remarks that the breach of faith in the Cabinet which made Hamilton's pamphlet possible, is the solitary instance of its kind in American history; and yet, as Duane, most scandalous of the numerous tribe who libelled Adams, wrote later,—"This pamphlet has done more mischief to the parties concerned than all the labors

of the "*Aurora*". That pamphlet sowed the dragon's teeth. That pamphlet was the political death of Adams, killed the Federalist party, and was the immediate cause of the untimely death of Hamilton himself.

The dramatic course of events during these times has attracted the student of public affairs both at home and abroad. No other portion of our national history has been more variously recounted nor so frequently. And in the story John Adams usually seems but an after-piece to Washington,—a political echo, a scrap and remnant which decency demands should receive at least passing notice. Radical Jeffersonians have gone so far as to assert that John Adams (as Henry Clay said of President Polk) like a parenthetical expression, could be wholly omitted without injuring the sense. Back to Quincy goes the last Federalist President; back to his quiet estate, thenceforth to live in seclusion and retirement, never again accepting office; no longer vexed by the defeasance wrought by false friends, nor held prisoner in the cheerless anterooms of secretly hostile embassies. It was a quiet life to which he came after a long, a trying, a dangerous voyage. And there amidst his fields, which yielded him independence, the principle of his life became the fruitful philosophy of old age. No other American statesman has attained the length of years and few the honors of John Adams.

A few years after the retirement of Adams, Jefferson also retired to his estate at Monticello, and all rivalries forgotten, the venerable statesmen entered into that remarkable correspondence which remains one of the delightful chapters in our annals. The heat and turmoil of life are over and these two minds, rich in memories and experience, courageous in thought and spirit, correspond familiarly on great themes and record conclusions which yet provoke debate. The death of Adams and Jefferson on the fiftieth anniversary of the day of American independence was an extraor-

dinary coincidence which, in the memory of all Americans has associated their names even more closely than their long and splendid services to their country.

Interesting as must always be the large and bold outline of a statesman's life, it is to the particular acts in his career one must look in order to understand the principles to which he was devoted,—the service for which he stands. John Adams was in middle life when the Revolution transformed Colonies to States and thirteen communities into a new nation. Consistency is the word and the one word which can be applied to his entire conduct as a public man. Convinced of the truth of "the social compact", years before the affair at Concord, he stood in waiting, as it were, to apply political principles to events in America, whether social, political or economic. He embodied the newest teachings of the age,—all those teachings which are latent in the social compact theory, and quickly discerned in the *Writs of Assistance* and the *Stamp Act* a violation of that compact which could have but one result,—American independence. Born eloquent, he became as did no other American the voice of liberty, the expounder of independence and nationality. It was the most perilous position any American could take, and from such peril he never shrank. And he was more than mere "legal advisor" to a body of conspirators and revolutionists. He not merely appealed to first principles, he demonstrated their just empire over the conduct of a whole people. Himself a man of 'firm resolve and unfaltering trust', he demanded a like devotion in others. "Politics", (so he wrote to Mrs. Adams,)" are an ideal path among red-hot ploughshares. Who then would be a politician, for the pleasure of running about barefoot among them; yet somebody must." Parliamentary taxation had no other meaning to him than trespass upon colonial rights, and

once that trespass was halted, there could be no retreat for those who halted it.

Thus he arrived early at the idea of union,—American union, and boldly founded the idea on 'natural right'. It must be admitted that this pragmatic conception of human relations fails to satisfy many political thinkers,—but it must also be admitted that it was this conception which possessed the minds of the statesman who brought the American Revolution to a successful close. The several States easily, perhaps naturally, considered themselves as free, sovereign and independent nations,—a conception of tremendous vitality and fated to test by the most fearful ideal of civil war, whether a nation "conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" can endure. No American contemporary of Adams surpassed him as a man of profound speculation, for he had the eye of the seer, the vision of the prophet. Yet at no time throughout his long life was he a mere visionary. Even when supporting and securing the adoption of the most visionary of all American state papers, the Declaration of Independence,—and Jefferson assures us that Adams was the 'Colossus' in that debate,—there is not a trace of the dreamer, the wild enthusiast.

It was a very sober business thus to defy an empire in hope of winning national independence. Amidst portentous changes, the public business was done decently and in good order. So Dr. Gordon, an energetic contemporary, the first of many to write the history of the Revolution, describes Adams as having "the clearest head and the finest heart in Congress." This clarity of understanding explains, in no mean way, Adams's reasonable urgency upon the several Colonies to transform themselves into States,—or, as he expressed the change,— "to take up civil government". Nor did he lack a foremost part in that transformation,

the author, as he became by the will of his colleagues, of the constitution of Massachusetts, the oldest written constitution of government now in force in the world, and in many respects, the mold and type of all which have followed it. This instrument, it is true, breathes the political philosophy of the eighteenth century. All rests upon "the social compact". It is the lawyer's view of human relations, but it is the view according to which quite all our interests and relations are construed. He who would epitomize government in America will make use with John Marshall, of two words in our supreme law,—the "obligation of a contract". Adams's conception of the fundamentals of the social compact was of the "passions" and "interests" of men,—a conception years afterward elaborated by Hamilton and his associates in the *Federalist.* Once these basic elements were identified with government in America, Adams believed that both the States and the Nation were secure. And it may justly be said that John Adams had formulated these fundamentals of government before Alexander Hamilton was born. Yet in the early days of the Revolution Adams was not recognized by the people as the leader of the movement. So imperfect were the means of interchange of ideas at that time, doubt may well be expressed whether any man, save Washington, stood out in the American mind as the leader, and he, chiefly, because at the head of the army. The South had Patrick Henry, the Pinckneys, Rutledge, the Lees, and Jefferson; the Middle States had Franklin, Morris, Dickinson, Clinton, Schuyler, and Hamilton; New England had Sherman, Samuel Adams, Hancock, Robert Treat, Paine, and John Adams; the Continent had Washington. It was a scattered fire, this attack on "British tyranny". Time has tried all these names by the fiercest of tests and accords to a few of them an understanding of principles, an advocacy of them, a service to the country,

which sets John Adams apart, with others, as founders of our institutions.

For ten years, the period of his ministry abroad, beginning with the year 1778, John Adams's public services are not surpassed by those of any other man. He always looked back upon these years as the great years of his life. It was a bold mission,—to assume among the nations of the earth an equal rank, and this America did in John Adams. He told Europe that with Burgoyne's surrender the war should have ceased, and that after the embarassing event only the King's 'stubbornness' kept up the struggle. It was a startling declaration to all monarchists. It meant,—if true,—the spread of democracy over Europe. And no form of government contemplates its own destruction with pleasure. But a new order of the ages had begun, nor did Adams for an instant cease proclaiming the change. The service he rendered cannot be misunderstood. America must not only be 'free and independent', but 'neutral'. Now nothing is clearer than that France loved us in lively expectation of favors to come and with calm resolution that America, subservient, should aid her in prostrating the British Empire. It was a grand game of the "passions" and "interests" played by the first nations of Europe.

Adams understood the game and patiently played it according to the rules. But with him "neutrality", "independence", "national sovereignty" were the words. He, and they who saw as he saw, saved America from becoming a mere province of France,—a mere appanage of Europe. He never shirked responsibility. Very clearly did he see that the interests of France were not always the interests of the United States. In his troubled intercourse with ministers of state he learned that first rule of diplomacy: Advance your own country at the cost of others. For America it was a hard rule to follow, in lack of arms and men. Choiseul,

de Vergennes, Maurepas, Turgot, Necker, bred to politics and the successful pursuit of the labyrinths of diplomacy, resented the brusque, the direct, the simple demands of Adams. With Franklin they would deal but not with Adams. And here may the world easily discover the essential difference between the two great Americans. "Honesty", (so Franklin would say,) "is the best policy"; "Honesty", (so Adams would say,) "is the best principle". It was the policy of all Europe to exploit America, not for America but for Europe. Louis XVI had no love for America. "My trade", said Joseph of Austria to his sister, the unfortunate French queen, "my trade is to rule". Turgot plainly saw that the Revolution, if successful, would transform America into nations wholly independent of Europe. So the true policy for France was to exhaust the Colonies; to exhaust England; to bring America into a state of perpetual purveyorship to France. Nor did Louis hesitate to declare,—possibly as a hint to Franklin and Adams,—that the "promise of Republics" may not be trusted like the "honor of monarchs". Adams went deeper than his most Christian Majesty and asserted that the hopes of the Republic in the West were the hopes of mankind.

Like Franklin Adams defended a paper currency and chiefly on the ground that such a currency is worth whatever the people of the nation that utters it may assign to it. If it depreciated, it was because (so they claimed) the insidious love of gain led buyer and seller to place self-interest above the public welfare. Franklin put the whole matter pithily when he claimed that a depreciating currency "pays itself off". Count de Vergennes insisted that however low the American paper might fall, the French should be preferred creditors. Adams replied, in one of the longest and, if we accept his premises, one of the ablest of letters. The reply doubtless satisfied Adams but it cannot sat-

isfy a modern sound-money man. The real question was of the use or abuse of credit. To what length that resource may be utilized remains doubtless measurable by the brutal facts of nationality. No nation is richer than its credit but the laws of credit remain to be fully explored.

II

Adams was first of American ministers to discriminate between diplomatic and consular functions and to urge upon Congress the recognition of them. His mind turned to industrial rather than to mere political independence for his country, recognizing clearly the basic character of labor. In his day Europe was the manufacturing world and America the producer of raw materials. Accepting this condition, he urged commercial treaties upon Europe, ever arguing to embassies and chancellaries the mutual advantages accruing from amicable relations between their own country and the United States. Possibly his emphasis of economic values may be explained by his belief that property is the basis of government. Right or wrong as this theory may be, Adams never departed from it. The last public act of his life, of moment, was to accept the presidency of the Massachusetts Convention of 1820, met to amend the instrument he had framed, forty years earlier. He had not changed his convictions and now, after the ripened experience of four score years, he advocated the property basis. Nor was he alone; Webster supported him in one of the most famed of his speeches. Here lie the very root and cause of difference between Adams and Jefferson as statesmen,—their irreconcilable interpretations of the foundations on which the state rest: property, or men. Adams, during his ministerial career, saw in America a "balance to Europe"; yet it was not an America essentially agricultural, for the provision in the Massachusetts constitution concerning

manufactures,—which he wrote,—and which he records with surprise was quite unanimously approved, pointed the way America was going. The "balance" which the New World should maintain was one which could not be measured by pounds of iron or fathoms of cloth. It was an intellectual, a moral, a spiritual balance and above all, a political, for he saw in America all that future of population, prosperity and peace which time has granted. This notion of large things helps explain his prophecy of the domination of the English language because of America,—that the time would come when that language would most closely approach the service of a vehicle of understanding the world over: a prophecy which has been quite fulfilled in our own day.

His diplomatic victory was won in Holland. Confederated as were the States of Holland in his time, a treaty of any kind between them and America seemed impossible of realization and yet such a treaty Adams secured. And more than a treaty of recognition of nationality, or one of mere commercial exchange: he secured a large loan which carried the United States through what has come to be known as the "critical period",—the years from the ratification of the Articles of Confederation to the adoption of the Constitution. And Adams accomplished this extraordinary result in the very teeth of French oppositon, and alone. Dr. Franklin expressed slight confidence in the success of the effort; England, at the time dominant in Holland, interposed in a warlike way. But Holland came to the aid of America, quite saved the day, and remained close to the head of the list of European powers who gave us aid and comfort in the days of small things. This help we owe to John Adams. He considered it the triumph of his life. The unsurpassed service has been almost forgotten by his countrymen. It was the victory of "watchful waiting", of persistent, personal activity.

France early became weary of her alliance with the United States, weary of the war, and desirous of withdrawing. Necker, Minister of Finance, saw the pit opening at his feet and, alarmed, sought, in fidelity to his master, to stop all aid. It was a critical moment. Franklin proved stronger than the great Genevese. Adams calmly advised de Vergennes to strengthen the French navy in American waters as the only means of defeating England. Nor did Adams ever cease his efforts to protect America by a powerful navy. His insistence on the superiority of a navy when President was no small cause of the opposition of Hamilton who insisted on the superiority of an army. But Adams was right in his counsel to the French minister,—however impolitic the counsel,—for without the fleet of de Grasse, Yorktown could not have been taken or the war brought to so speedy a close. Adams saw clearly that Great Britain was mistress of the seas; he knew well the meaning of sea power in history, and quite at the first opportunity he moved straight to the point of insistence on the bulwark of American protection.

"The events of the war" wrote Lincoln, in his Message to Congress, in 1863, "give an increased interest and importance to the navy, which will probably extend beyond the war itself". This was Adams's position eighty years earlier. While Adams was worrying over possible Dutch loans, and actual bills of exchange which Congress showered down upon him to honor, Franklin calmly advised acceptance of the bills, but Adams hesitated because he saw no possible resource from which to meet them. He appealed to Franklin. That genial soul, unmoved by the very front of catastrophe replied: "I shall use my best endeavors to procure money for their honorable discharge against they become due, if you should not, in the meantime, be provided. And if those endeavors fail, I shall be ready to break, run away, or go to prison with you, as it shall please God."

It may well be doubted whether Adams smiled, as we do now, at the reply. The awful seriousness of the situation quite overcame his spirits and doubtless he bethought him of what he had formally reported to Congress on "the artificial character of Dr. Franklin". Adams was a Puritan; Franklin, a man of the world. Franklin at this time managed to get the needed money from de Vergennes, and so neither Puritan nor man of the world had to run away or go to prison. "In the arts of indirection, the mere management and maneuvring of politics or diplomacy, (John Adams) never had the smallest skill; but in the faculty of combining means with judgment and energy so as to attain the public end he had in view, down to the close of his public life, he showed himself a master. It is this quality which marks (his) career as a statesman through all its various phases with the stamp of greatness". With the millions borrowed from Holland, through Adams's "judgment and energy", Congress was enabled to meet its obligations, and never again was our national credit to fall to so low an ebb.

Amidst these anxious events Adams never for a moment ceased insisting on full recognition abroad of American sovereignty and American neutrality. England, long before Yorktown, would have been pleased to stop the war; France, to bring about a peace, at the expense of this sovereignty. The full significance of Adams's conception of America can be had and had alone from a true understanding of the Confederation, the several States, the American people, and the vast problem of Union. England would make separate treaties with the several States, in confidence that sooner or later some or all of them would return to the empire. France cared little for America and less for England; a treaty should restore France to primacy in the New World. The United States, as Adams tells us, was but a pawn on the board. Would England admit

America to a level as to rights of fishery off the Grand Banks, and the Labrador? Adams insisted on the equality of right,—not because of the ancient custom of the New England fisherman's taking fish near the Banks, or as a pecuniary resource to the United States, —but simply as a question of sovereignty. The United States, a sovereign; England, a sovereign: equality of right; this was his belief. No treaty could issue from inequality of the high contracting parties. To this conviction he clung, and it became the ruling principle of the preliminary and of the final treaty with England.

That final treaty of peace, signed by England, France and the United States, January 21, 1783, marked the triumph of Adams's principles. Possibly the United States might have gained more but with John Adams as Commissioner it would never accept less. When, shortly after promulgation of the treaty, Adams, the first minister of the United States to England, was presented to King George, the sovereign, it is said, not without emotion, addressed a few words to him, carrying friendly sentiments, notably friendly when we consider the character of the King and his stubborn unwillingness to lose his colonies. To the royal words, expressing hope of American attachment to British interests, Adams replied, "I have no attachment but for my own country," to which the King answered: "An honest man will never have any other". Two honest men had met and spoken without reserve. Yet, a little later, we learn that at the royal levee, the King turned his back on the two American Commissioners,— Adams and Jefferson. And quite all England straightway did as did the King.

To no man of the times were the incapacity of the Congress and the inefficiency of the Confederacy clearer than to Adams. He knew as could few Americans that national weakness means national decay. From the moment of his conviction of the necessity

of a better government for America his advocacy of a more perfect union was ceaseless. His theory of government cannot be misunderstood, however it may be criticized. He indulged in no vain speculations. To him, the imperfections of man's nature made plain the necessity of authority and power. "He finds the human race impelled by their passions as often as guided by their reason, sometimes led to good actions by scarcely corresponding motives, and sometimes to bad ones rather from inability to resist temptation than from natural propensity to evil. This is the cornerstone of his system."* A right classification of 'powers' then is the procedure necessary to arrive at practical results. The *interests* of men give rise to distinctions between the rich and the poor, and are measured practically by property. The *passions* of men give rise to ambition for place and hunger for fame, and are measured, at least in governmental matters, by office. The multitude represent numbers and poverty; the rich, represent education and property; the official body represent the aspirations of rich and poor. Here then exists a means of checks and balances; of distribution of powers; of limitations and restrictions which may be made the basis of government. Let power therefore be distributed in three parts,—legislative, executive and judicial, but impose upon the executive such restrictions as shall strip it of danger to legislative or judicial, and have each department perform no functions other than those which appertain to itself. Thus a complete separation of the three powers, such as Adams set forth in the Constitution of Massachusetts, a nice balancing of each and all; a limitation against possible abuses, so that the mechanical operation (as it were) of the functions of the state should

* *Life of John Adams*, by Charles Francis Adams, in *Life and Works of John Adams*, I., 426.

both effect the ends of government,—"a government of laws and not of men" and, at the same time, neutralize whatsoever evil forces are beyond elimination because of "the imperfection of man's nature". This is John Adams's theory of government,—a theory found in Jean Jacques Rousseau, and in many lesser men of the eighteenth century.

Filled with this idea, Adams gave to the world his *Defence of American Constitutions* and his voluminous expositions of government. Here the ruling premise is of power limited; of people protected from themselves. Adams's conviction of the validity of his political principles was never shaken by any conference which he had with the ruling minds of Europe. Writing to John Jay, at the time Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Adams describes Pitt, with whom he had had several interviews, and who, at the time, was Prime Minister. "Mr. Pitt is very young. He has discovered abilities and firmness upon some occasions; but I have never seen in him any evidence of greater talents than I have seen in members of Congress, and in other scenes of life in America, at his age. I have not yet seen any decided proofs of principle, or patriotism, or virtue; on the contrary, there are many symptoms of the want of these qualities, without which no statesman ever yet appeared uniformly great, or wrought out any memorable salvation for any country." *

The great, the vital question had meanwhile arisen in America, the question Washington and others were asking,—"Are we a nation?" John Adams was preparing to return home. On his arrival he found the whole country stirred over the question of ratifying the Constitution which the Federal Convention at Philadelphia had prepared. Of his sympathy with ratification Adams made no concealment. He con-

* Adams to Jay, December 3, 1785.

stantly urged the more perfect union as he had been urging it for many years. Perhaps no equally trustworthy interpretation of the causes which led to the adoption of that Constitution, as they would appear to the mind of John Adams can be given other than that given by his distinguished grandson, Charles Francis Adams:

"Exhausted by the war and the derangement of all useful industry, the forms which executed justice soon became equally hateful with those who had labored to impose a tyranny. It was the upheaving of the poorest classes to throw off all law of debtor and creditor, which brought about the successful effort to organize the federal government anew, as a bridle upon their license. They never favored it beforehand, nor cordially approved it afterwards, during their day and generation. The Federal Convention was the work of the commercial people in the seaport towns, of the planters of the slave-holding States, of the officers of the revolutionary army, and the property holders everywhere. And these parties could never have been strong enough of themselves to procure the general adoption of the instrument which they matured, had it not been that the open insurrection in Massachusetts, and the assemblages threatening to shut up the courts of justice in other States, had thrown the intermediate body of quiet citizens of every shade of opinion, in panic, all on their side. It was under the effect of this panic, that the delegates had been elected, and that they acted. . . . . The federal constitution was the offspring of compromises made under these circumstances." *

Adams was chosen Vice-President as a geographical solution of the necessity of filling the office. The South had the presidency, in Washington; at the North there

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* *Life of John Adams, supra,* 441–2.

were several greatly distinguished men, but of these available, Hancock and Samuel Adams had aligned themselves with the opponents of the new Constitution, and no northern man had rendered greater services to the country than John Adams, long an advocate of more power in the federal government and a vigorous supporter of the 'new plan.' There was the unconscious respect for the older, if not the better soldier, in Adams's case, so that none of the younger men,—Madison, Hamilton, or Morris, appears to have been considered, the exception being John Jay who received nine votes, against thirty-four for Adams; the ten who stood below him receiving in the aggregate but one more vote than he. The office cannot be said to offer much to such a man as Adams but, as the coming years were to record, it was to take unto itself no small significance because of his performance of what he believed to be its functions. Little need is there to attempt to say more of Adams than what he has said authoritatively of himself, when he assumed the duties of his new office:

"I congratulate the people of America on the formation of a national constitution, and the fair prospect of a consistent administration of a government of laws".

From the inception of the new government issues sprang up which went to the root of the whole matter,—and that, comprehensively,—the existence of the Union and the efficiency of its administration. Washington attempted the impossible task of harmonizing rival schools of political thought when he called Hamilton and Jefferson into his Cabinet. The ideas for which these two statesmen stood, and still stand, are irreconcilable. Hamilton undertook to draw "order out of the chaos of the finances", and succeeded. In doing this he drew to his support all men of property throughout the country; they never deserted him, and

they to this day have formed the powerful party which, under one name or another, has supported his theories of the organization and administration of government in America. To the financial plans of Hamilton Adams threw his support, and at a moment when had that support been given to Jefferson, it might, as has been said, "have turned the scale." Adams was "never a calculating politician", indeed, he cannot be described, truly, as a politician at all, for he was totally lacking in that art, or grace, or power, or uncanny insight which marks the politician,—which distinguishes men of the class of Amos Kendall and William L. Marcy, on the one hand, or such men as Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, on the other.

John Adams lacked the initial grace of the politician, —tact, and as with lesser men, that which he had not cost him more than that which he had. He came into the Vice-Presidency when America stood at the parting of the ways. The President,—Washington,—had notions of the importance of ceremony in the conduct of his office. That he consulted the House; that he consulted the Senate; that he consulted the Vice-President; that he consulted his Cabinet; that he consulted his friends as to what that ceremony should be are matters, long since, of every school-boy's reading. John Adams had long resided near the court of France, which seemed to exist for ceremony; he had known the exacting and burdensome mode of their High Mightinesses in Holland,—and it will be remembered that the American Congress went on record that Washington, the President should be addressed, officially, as "His High Mightiness". Adams's counsel appears to have gone no farther than to declare the European rule,— "sovereign to sovereign; minister to minister"; but this solution of the ominous problem recognized,—so the Anti-Federalists quickly pointed out,—that all men are not created equal: and so another attack on John

Adams. Every straw was in the way; every wind blew ill. The Vice-President, though presiding officer, *ex officio,* of the Senate is not a senator, and has no vote except in case of a tie. There were twelve States in the Union in Adams's vice-presidency, and twenty-four Senators in the Senate when all were present. But all were rarely, if ever, present, and the vote during the first Congress was twenty times a tie.

John Adams was thus called upon by his casting vote to settle large issues,—as the President's power of removal; the policy of neutrality, and the nation's part and place in the trade of the world. He stood with Washington and for all for which Washington stood. What of opposition to Washington's policy developed among the Democratic Societies throughout the country, concentrated upon Adams: he became the victim of that counter-revolution, led by that prince of revolutionists, Thomas Jefferson. To us who come long after these troublous, these almost anarchistic times, it is impossible, doubtless, to weigh all the evidence as it was then weighed. To Adams, the French Revolution was a 'moral earthquake'. "I know," (wrote Adams to Dr. Price, in comment on his expostulation,) "I know that encyclopedists and economists, Diderot and D'Alembert, Voltaire and Rousseau, have contributed to this great event more than Sidney, Locke, or Hoadley, perhaps more than the American Revolution; and I own to you, I know not what to make of a republic of thirty million atheists. . . . . Too many French, after the example of too many Americans, pant for equality of persons and property. The impracticability of this God Almighty has decreed, and the advocates for liberty who attempt it will surely suffer for it." And what was the other side? Thomas Paine's, *Rights of Man,* then recently published in England, an advocacy of political principles for which Paine was flung into prison in two countries; but Paine

explains, himself, in his speech before the Convention of July: "I was not persecuted by the *people* either of England or France. The proceedings in both countries were the effects of the *despotism* existing in their respective governments. But even if my persecution had originated in the people at large, my principles and conduct would still have remained the same."

John Adams's attitude toward these 'principles' is sufficiently clear from his letter, a few years later, to John Marshall, at the time Secretary of State: commenting on the proposal submitted by another to "introduce into this country a company of schoolmasters, painters, poets, &c., all of them disciples of Mr. Thomas Paine, . . . I had rather countenance the introduction of Ariel and Caliban, with a troop of spirits the most mischievous from fairy land". To Adams, the whole country seemed sinking into Jacobism and anarchy; to Jefferson, rising into Democracy and liberty. Between men of minds so diverse there is a great gulf fixed. That America would be a Republic, neither may have had a doubt; but to Adams it must be,—if long to exist,—a conservative, not a democratic Republic.

Meanwhile both Jefferson and Hamilton had retired to private life. It was a day when men confessed themselves old at forty and were wont at that advanced age to talk of 'seeking the beneficent shades of retirement'. As the French say, 'It was the habit.' In our day no man is too old to hold office; none too old to play the politician. It is not the game, but the players that change. John Adams became President by three votes. Jefferson came to second place with sixty-eight. It was a sign of the times. Ample evidence reaches us of infidelity to party, or Adams had received a heavier vote. The whole story seems to be told when we say that the Federalist party had Adams on its hands and could not throw him off,—with decency. Yet there were lead-

ers among the party who gladly would have thrown him off. It was the alternative which made cowards of them all. Hamilton sets out the compulsion of the hour: by electing Adams, that other candidate,—Jefferson,—"of whose unfitness" he writes "all sincere Federalists are convinced", would be excluded; in 1796, the Federalist cry was 'anything to beat Jefferson'; and he was beaten by three votes; but he was elected Vice-President.

That Adams committed a blunder by retaining Washington's Cabinet will hardly be denied. Not one of its members was deeply attached to him, personally or politically. Though having a Cabinet he was a President without one. Slight was the confidence and, seemingly, merely formal was the intercourse between Cabinet and President throughout his administration. John Adams had never worked in close harmony with political associates. He was incapable of intimate friendships; his judgments were his own, and it does not appear that he ever consulted his colleagues until first having made up his own mind, nor that he ever modified his conclusions when he had taken counsel. Wise or foolish, this was John Adams.

The office of cabinet minister in America is one of uncertain tenure, being wholly at the will of the President, but the office is more than a mere clerkship to an executive department. Indeed, the office, for the time being, is much as the President makes it. John Adams undoubtedly reduced it to lowest terms,—a treatment which intensified schism in the party and weakened him as President. Yet granting all this, and no wavering from principle, it was a question of administration. And here do we reach the place of John Adams as a statesman: a man whose political principles are of nationality, neutrality, American sovereignty, American primacy in trade and commerce, government founded on property rather than on persons; a govern-

ment of laws and not of men. To effect the ends harmonious with these principles, he advocates an efficient navy as essential to the adequate protection of the country. An "adequate naval force" is "an important object of national policy". A "navy adapted to defensive war" is a "necessity", a "wise and true economy for our future tranquillity, for the safety of our shores, and for the protection of our property committed to the ocean".*

He was the first of our Presidents to advocate a sufficient navy, an advocacy emphasized by most of his successors. In this emphasis of the importance of a navy, Adams antagonized Hamilton, who urged the superiority of an army. It was but one of their innumerable differences of opinion of best means for securing the same end. The large problems of Adams's administration were essentially the problems which confronted Washington: nationality, neutrality, public tranquillity, taxation, the honor and dignity of the country in the eyes of the world. These were administrative problems, once the "more perfect Union" had been formed. To the solution of these problems John Adams brought a lively conception of all the principles for which Washington had stood, and no greater tact than Washington himself had shown. The untimely death of Washington prevented consummation of plans, laid by some of the leading Federalists,—Hamilton among them,—to elect him President again. A passage in Hamilton's letter of condolence to Mrs. Washington tells the whole story: "He was essential to my plans". The death of the great man again left Adams on the hands of the Federalists. Jealousies, rivalries, schism were rife. We do not lack evidence of the schemes afoot at the time to bear the hated burden,

* Messages to Congress, May 16, 1797; December 14, 1798; November 22, 1800.

to bring the Federalists through their trials successfully and, not least, to compel Adams to follow the leaders of the wing of the party to which he did not belong. The leader of leaders, the "King of the Feds.," was Hamilton.

The undoing of Adams by Hamilton has passed into history. It does not make a chapter, in our annals, of pleasant reading. Great political leaders of later times have turned against the President,—the official head of their party; Henry Clay turned against John Tyler,—and, as he and his followers believed, with cause. Party schism has again and again brought the opposition into power; it brought Lincoln, it brought Wilson to the presidency. It has ever brought the opposition to first place: and Hamilton, in breaking with John Adams, in secretly organizing powerful opposition to him, brought into the presidency the one man whom he himself described as, "a candidate, of whose unfitness all sincere Federalists are convinced."

The story of this schism; the fatal *Letter*, which Hamilton wrote for private circulation among his followers, which Burr managed to lay hands on and sent flying through the world, the letter "Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq.," has long been read of all men. "Mr. Adams", (so runs this letter,) "does not possess the talents adapted to the administration of government, and there are great and intrinsic defects in his character, which unfit him for the office of chief magistrate." He is "infected with visionary notions", and is "far less able in the practice than in the theory of politics." "He is a man of an imagination sublimated and eccentric; propitious neither to the regular display of sound judgment, nor to steady perseverance in a systematic plan of conduct . . . ; to this defect are added the unfortunate foibles of a vanity without bounds, and a jealousy capable of discoloring every object." It had been "an essential

point of caution to take care that accident, or an intrigue of the opposers of government, should not raise Mr. Adams, instead of General Washington, to the first place. This every friend of government would have considered a disastrous event." Adams had complained of unfair treatment at time, had displayed the "extreme egotism of (his) temper". Knowing all this,—continues Hamilton,—"men of principal influence in the Federal party began to entertain serious doubts about his fitness" to succeed Washington, but in their "desire of preserving harmony in the party" "indulged their hopes rather than listened to their fears" and supported him for the chief magistracy. "Well-informed men knew that the event of the election was extremely problematical; and while the friends of Mr. Jefferson predicted his success with sanguine confidence, his opposers feared that he might have at least an equal chance with any Federal candidate. To exclude him, was deemed, by the Federalists, a primary object." It was "far less important" whether Adams or Pinckney was successful than that "Mr. Jefferson should not be the person." And the election of Pinckney was Hamilton's desire. To Hamilton the crown of offense in John Adams was his "disgusting egotism"; his "distempered jealousy"; the "ungovernable indiscretion of (his) temper, joined to some doubts of the correctness of his maxims of administration. . . . He (in-conversation) "repeatedly made excursions into the field of foreign politics, which alarmed the friends of the prevailing system." The unforgivable errors in administration were the appointment of the commission to France; the ignominious treatment of the Cabinet and refusal to take its advice; the President's temporizing with insurrection and rebellion in Pennsylvania and his pardoning the offenders after they had been found guilty in the courts and, not least, the President's criticism of Hamilton himself; hostility

towards him and steady refusal to follow his political program. "Yet", (concludes this remarkable letter,) "with this opinion of Mr. Adams, I have finally resolved not to advise withholding from him a single vote. The body of Federalists, for want of sufficient knowledge of facts, are not convinced of the expediency of relinquishing him." Whatever the Federalist electors might do, they should "encrease the probability of excluding a third candidate, of whose unfitness all sincere Federalists are convinced". And the letter concludes in emphasis "of the great importance of cultivating harmony among the supporters of the government; on whose firm union hereafter will probably depend the preservation of order, tranquillity, liberty, property; the security of every social and domestic blessing".*

This indictment of Adams by Hamilton, lacking nothing in detail, may be set over against Jefferson's indictment of both Hamilton and Adams. "Hamilton," records Jefferson in his stealthy *Anas*, "Hamilton was not only a monarchist, but for a monarchy bottomed on corruption", and he relates the conversation, at his own table, on the British constitution, on which Mr. Adams observed, "purge that constitution of its corruption, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would be the most perfect constitution ever devised by the wit of man". Hamilton paused and said, "purge it of its corruption, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would become an *impracticable* government; as it stands at present, with all its supposed defects, it is the most perfect government which ever existed." And this was assuredly the exact line which separated the political creeds of

* Letter from Alexander Hamilton, Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq., President of the United States. Written in the Year 1800. New Edition, with Preface. Boston: Printed by E. G. House, No. 5, Court Street. 1809. 56 pp.

these two men. The one was for two hereditary branches, one an honest elective; the other, for an hereditary King, with a House of Lords and Commons corrupted to his will, and standing between him and the people. And of Adams particularly Jefferson adds: "Mr. Adams had originally been a republican. The glare of royalty and nobility, during his mission to England, had made him believe their fascination a necessary ingredient in government; and Shay's rebellion, not sufficiently understood where he then was, seemed to prove that the absence of want and oppression was not a sufficient guarantee of order. His book on the American Constitutions having made known his political bias, he was taken up by the monarchical Federalists in his absence, and on his return to the United States, he was by them made to believe that the general disposition of our citizens was favorable to monarchy. He here wrote his *Davila,* as a supplement to a former work, and his election to the Presidency confirmed him in his errors. Innumerable addresses too, artfully and industriously poured in upon him, deceived him into a confidence that he was on the pinnacle of popularity, when the gulf was yawning at his feet, which was to swallow up him and his deceivers. General Washington was withdrawn, these *energumeni* of royalism, kept in check hitherto by the dread of his honesty, his firmness, his patriotism, and the authority of his name, now mounted on the car of State and free from control, like Phaeton on that of the sun, drove headlong and wild, looking neither to right nor left, nor regarding anything but the objects they were driving at; until, displaying these fully, the eyes of the nation were opened, and a general disbandonment of them from the public councils took place." *

Adams himself records that, meeting Colonel Lyman,

* *Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* Lipscomb, Editor, I, 278, 279, 280.

"one of the most amiable men in Congress", in the street, in Philadelphia, he inquired the news. "Hamilton", replied Lyman, "has divided the Federalists, and proposed to them to give you the go-by and bring in Pinckney. By this step he has divided the Federalists, and given great offense to the honestest part of them. I am glad of it, for it will be the ruin of his faction". My answer was, "Colonel Lyman, it will be, as you say, the ruin of his faction; but it will also be the ruin of honester men than any of them." And he proceeds to speak of his own hobby as a navy; Hamilton's, an army. That Hamilton "had fled from his own unpopularity" and "from national hatred to the bar at New York, to acquire the character of an unambitious man", planning no less than to be "commander-in-chief" of the administration, general advisor to the whole country. Indeed, Adams accuses Hamilton of the same faults as those imputed to himself by Hamilton. No less an authority than Charles Francis Adams records that his grandfather was subject to asperity of temper "in much greater degree" than was Washington, "and with less power of self-control;" but he also cites Cabot's letter to Hamilton,—and Cabot was one of Hamilton's closer friends,—in which he tells Hamilton that he is accused of egotism and vanity in as dangerous a quality and to as great an extent as John Adams himself.

Certain it is that no letter ever written by a public man bore more tragical fruit, or precipitated heavier woes. Adams defeated; Jefferson and Burr brought by equal vote into the House of Representatives for the presidency; the challenge; the duel on the Heights of Wehawken; Hamilton's untimely death, Burr an outcast on the face of the earth, the Federalist party eliminated from American politics. Adams's prophecy thus soon proved true. To Jefferson and his followers, and to all who see in Jeffersonian democracy the

strength and salvation of America, the fall of John Adams was only a step toward the realization of the rights of man.

For more than a hundred years historians and writers of every degree have commented on men and affairs of the time of John Adams. The fairest judgment as yet pronounced comes from an English historian of the American Revolution. "The critical faculty (so writes Trevelyan,) was abnormally strong in John Adams, and he had only too keen an eye for the short-comings of other people. He continued, till very near the end of an immensely prolonged life, to comment with extraordinary force and zest upon the weaknesses and failings of those eminent men who twenty years back, and thirty years back, had been his fellow laborers in the cause of American freedom. But whatever he might say or write in private, he never knowingly allowed his public conduct to be influenced by considerations of personal rivalry. Patriotism, pure and unalloyed, was at all times in his career the essential motive of his political action; and, whenever he was called upon to take a practical decision on a matter affecting the welfare of his country, his finer qualities invariably carried the day. . . . . On New Year's Day, 1781, John Adams received from the President of Congress his nomination as Minister Plenipotentiary to the United Provinces. The situation, from the point of view of America, needed a master-hand to cope with it; and there was an American now in Europe who was equal to the task. He at once crossed the frontier, and laid before the Dutch Government a memorial soliciting recognition as the representative of a self-governing and independent nation. The practical and straightforward Bostonian, accustomed in his own country to direct dealing with intelligent and self-respecting people of all classes of society, was determined to get into close personal con-

tact with the public opinion of Holland. His course of action in this respect was shocking to the somewhat hide-bound official hierarchy of Europe; and even the Compte de Vergennes warned him that an appeal to popular feeling on the part of an ambassador was a proceeding unheard of in diplomacy. But John Adams knew well what he was about; and nowhere else, and at no time in his career, was he ever more busily and successfully occupied than during those fifteen months which he almost continuously passed in Holland. It was a country where he felt himself at home. The air of industry and prosperity, the neatness and cleanliness, the doors and shutters of brightly painted wood, and the avenues of young trees in the village streets, reminded him of much that he had left behind in New England; and he saw no cause why, in his political transactions with Dutchmen, he should not use processes which he had always employed when doing public business with his fellow-citizens in America." It was this transaction, which not only established his reputation in Europe, but which he regarded as the supreme triumph of his life. "Congress (continues Trevelyan,) was kept minutely informed about the aspect of European affairs by Benjamin Franklin and John Adams,—as acute observers, and sound advisors, as ever represented their country at a foreign capital." "The greatest names among the founders of the Republic were, beyond all question, those of Washington, Franklin, and John Adams." *

John Adams was the first and the last Puritan President. He was the first, and probably the last President to live to see his son become President. He came to the presidency with a larger experience in international affairs than any of his successors have known. Of American statesmen he alone wrote treatises on

* *George the Third and Charles James Fox*, II., 47, 49, 51, 57, 171, 305.

government, and these, though a temporary contribution to political science, set forth American concepts of government to the edification of the whole world. Hamilton set him down as incapable in the administration of government; Jefferson recorded his as a monarchist; Trevelyan, more than a hundred years after his retirement from the presidency, portrays him as easily among the great diplomatists of the world. To most Americans he has become a respectable name which survives a day of vast beginnings. All the evidence accords him a foremost place among Americans who believe that government should be a government of laws and not of men.

(Selected Adams Bibliography)

I. Documentary.

The Life And Works of John Adams, 10 Vols. (1850–1856), written, compiled, and edited by Charles Francis Adams, remains the printed source; the unpublished official correspondence of John Adams, in the archives of the Government, together with state papers and cognate matter, is very great. His most important state papers are reprinted in James D. Richardson's, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, I. His *Works* (*supra*) contain his *Controversial Papers, Works on Government, Defense of the Constitutions of the United States of America, Discourses on Davila*, &c. Taken in their entirety, Adams's various writings remain the best introduction, for the English reader, to a comparative study of ancient and modern republics as interpreted by any American statesman. Wharton's, *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6 Vols., and John Bassett Moore's, *Digests of International Law*, 6 Vols., and of *International Arbitration*, 7 Vols., John and Abagail Adams's, *Familiar Letters During the Revolution* (Boston, 1875).

II. Biographical.

The *Life of John Adams* (Vol. I. of the *Life and Works, supra*), is the most exhaustive and the best exposition of his public services. John T. Morse's, *John Adams*, in the *American Statesmen Series*, a brief, and somewhat unsatisfactory sketch, which should be read in connection with the ampler, if not juster, study by Charles Francis Adams. Mellen Chamberlain's, *John Adams, the Statesman of the Revolution; with other Essays and Addresses* (Boston, 1898). Sir George Otto Trevelyan's, *George Third and Charles James Fox*, II., 'John Adams in Europe.'

III. Historical.

The general histories cited under the bibliography of Adams's colleagues and contemporaries recount, more or less in detail, the public services of John Adams. None of them is, however, specially favorable to Adams. One may read the censorious Hildreth, the unfriendly Schouler, or in McMaster, the popular judgment of America concerning Adams during his life. Adams's career during the Revolution, as minister to France, Holland, and England is recorded by Bancroft, in his *History of the United States* (various editions), by Hildreth (with some commendation) III., and Adams's Administration (with Hamiltonian leanings) IV., V.; in Winsor's, *Narrative and Critical History*, VI, VII; in Frothingham's, *Rise of the Republic* (for Adams's earlier career); in George Elliot Howard's, *The American Revolution;* in A. C. M'Laughlin's, *The Confederation and the Constitution*, the last three works are critical studies, equipped with the modern apparatus, bibliography, maps, &c &c., of highest value to the reader. John Spencer Bassett's, *The Federalist System*, alike critical, gives the reader immediate entrance into the issues of Adam's Administration, and a critical study of his political principles. Edward Channing's, *History of the United States*, II. III. *passim*. A. D. Morse's, *The Politics of John Adams*, American Historical Review, IV. 292, and C. M. Walsh's, *The Political Science of John Adams: A Study in the Theory of Mixed Government and the Bicameral Theory* (1915), analyze his principles minutely. Wharton's, *State Trials of the United States During the Administrations of Washington and Adams*, the Debates in Congress (1797–1801), either in the *Annals*, or in Benton's, Abridgement; Pickering and Upham's, *Life and Times of Timothy Pickering;* Gibb's, *Memoirs of the Federal Administrations*, and the *American State Papers*. Webster's imaginary *Speech of John Adams* in favor of the Declaration of Independence, Webster's *Works* I; much concerning Adams may be found scattered through the writings of Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton and Webster. Alexander Johnston in *Lalor's Cyclopedia* gives critical (though brief) accounts of all the issues that arose during Adam's Administration. Later historians disclose a kindlier spirit towards John Adams than those contemporary or early writers.

THOMAS RODNEY.

BY SIMON GRATZ, ESQ.

(Continued from Vol. XLIII, page 367.)

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Washington Misisipi Territory July 27th 1804.

My dear Son,

We have now passed through the warmest Period of the Season, from the Middle of June to the Middle of July has been very warm, the Mercury here generally from 88° to 90°. indeed seldom below 90°. The old Inhabitants say they have never seen such a Continuance of such warm weather but it has now much abated and the nights have become pleasantly Cool and refreshing—Not having received my Carriage yet however I can only ride for Exercise in the Morning and Evening for the Middle of the days are still warm & therefore I Keep in the Shade where it is generally pleasant and I Continue in perfect health—Tho I have an arduous time in My double Capacity of Judge and Commissioner—The Board is open every day when I am not at Court and Mr. Williams being away I am obliged to give Constant attention to the business—& the other Judges being in the uper part of the Territory and much out of the way Most of the Court business of Vacation falls on me—Last week all the Principal Lawyers were here to argue a Motion for a New Trial in an Important Case before me which as they had not time to argue it at Court they had agreed to argue it before me on Vacation and Yesterday and today again the Principal Lawyers will be here to argue a Case under the Land Law before the Board and a

great Crowd are attending—This is an Important Case and respects the Walnut Hills one of the finest parts of the Territory Claimed under a Brittish Patent and Sundry Donation Men &c.—What has become of Williams we Know not for we have not rec'd a line from him since he left Orleans for the Federal City but we have heard that he & Briggs the Surveyor landed at Newyork and thence went by Stage to the Federal City—but I suppose you were at the Courts or must have seen them as they passed through Wilmington for I wrote to you by M^{r}. Williams—They were Expected back by the first of June and have been Constantly wanted Ever since as the labor of taking all the Testimony falls on me Chiefly, and Briggs is much wanted in his own Department—I heard from Fisher that little Cæsar has been Ill again with his complaint poor fellow I have Explored the western Country to find the Dennitris the Sovereign cure for the Gravel but have not yet met with it and fear it is to be found no where but about the mountains which are distant from here—Something must be done for him—I wish you would try what keep us all healthy here the Sweet balsam, made of the Vegetable Salts and Oils—This Balsam, is Easily made—It is made by Dissolving *Pearl Ash* in Cold water, by putting in as much Pearl ash as the water will Dissolve and Shak^{e}. it well and then letting it Settle till the water becomes perfectly Clear, then pour it off into a Decanter & Keep it for use. Equal quantities of this Solution and Sweet Oil poured in a tumber or other Vessel & Shook or Stirred makes a Sweet Milky balsam—then add cold water to make it thinner like Milk—but the proportion of Salts and oils may be Varied at pleasure so as to answer Various purposes—No Medicine can be better than this for Children in almost any Complaint—The Vegetable Salts are greatly used now in Medicine but none of the Physicans use them in this Sweet Safe Manner.

Since our using it has made it known here I am run to as if I were a Physician, & have given a way many bottles of oil in this way but have learned the Major & Young Men how to make it. have just time to write this and no more—

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Washington M. T. Aug^{t}. 3^{d}. 1804,

My dear Son,

Yours of the 16th. of June Came to hand by the last mail and also one of Each of the Little Ladies Mary & Eliza, which I have answered in one directed to them both, by the present Mail—Since you have Consented to be run again I wish you may succeed and as there is no reason to suppose the republican Interest has Increased since last Election the prospect is not unfavorable—As to the Cŏnduct of Cap^{n}. Hunn let it be what it may let it Injure your manly feelings, let it not provoke to do or Say anything Imprudent, for if he should deviate from Prudence the disadvantage will return on himself if you preserve a firm and upright mind, nor can he say any Evil of you now without Contradicting himself in much that he has formerly said—I make no doubt but the breach that has happened is distressing to Susan and renders it difficult for her to Conduct herself in an unexceptional Manner and Capt^{n}.Hunns saying or insinuating that you and myself have always thought you above her is deviating from that prudence and Candor which I always thought him possessed off and can only tend unnecessarily to disturb the mind of Susan; and I think he must be Candid Enough to acknowledge that no such Insinuation or any thing like it were dropt from me, and I am well convinced since as well as before your Marriage that your affiction for her has always been such that it never Entered your mind. I had been long

acquainted with him Captⁿ. Hunn & his family before your Marriage and had always felt a friendly respect for him and his Sister who I always thought a worthy woman and I have no doubt but he will remember that when he spoke to me respecting your marriage, that I mentioned no objection but that I had understood that Susan was sickly and weakly and therefore I feared your Children would be Feeble &ᶜ. and that I wished you to have a good healthy stout girl as it was our only prospect for Continuing the family—whereupon he represented to me that tho Susan had lately then been sickly she had recovered and was naturally nervous and active—then I think I said something to this purpose that as I had never seen Susan I could say nothing in other respects for that I could not Judge of a book I never had read or Estimate a Jewel I never had seen, but that as you were more Immediately Interested than I was that it was a principle with me that in a Case of that sort I should leave you at liberty to Chuse for yourself, and this you always Knew tho you dutifully solicited my approbation—but I never dropt a hint at any time of any difference of quality—for I Knew that Hunn's family had been long respectable in the Country—and my Cousin John Rodney at Lewes, had long before selected a wife from it, and I knew her to be a very valuable woman and always felt a great regard for her and her Children—But as to Susan herself since I have been acquainted with her I have never seen a single thing in her Conduct or Manners to object to, far from it for I have long thought her one of the finest women in all respects that our Country produces, Indeed there is not one in the Circle of my acquaintance to be preferred before her—and as she is raising you a numerous flock of fine Children that only objection has long vanished and the Truth is that I feel as great affection for her as if she was my own daughter—So that the Captain must have heard something

of that kind if at all, from some other source not from you or me, nor can it be of any advantage to his family or yours to propagate such an absurdity nor should I think he would listen to any thing of that sort unless at some unguarded moment and I am very sure if he says anything imprudent in his unguarded Moments that may injure the peace of the family he will on reflection be Sorry for it—and the worst that I can wish him is a restoration of that rashional mind and happyness he long Enjoyed, nor do I wish Maria less. If she has been a little more eccentric and wild than some of her friends thought prudent, the cares of a family and her domestic affairs will have a natural tendency to Correct it. So that my advice is for you and Susan to attend prudently and diligently to your own Interests, Intermedling as little as possible with others till the family return of themselves to their old good humour—You express a sentiment that Indicates some thought of leaving the State but this I would not wish you to incourage till you see an opertunity of doing it to advantage, perhaps an opening may happen in this western Country which Indeed presents Many prospects but as yet it would not answer for a rising family because the means of Education have not yet arrived, in the mean time Cultivate your Interest in the best manner where you are and as to a pleasant and fruitful country none can Excel it—

as the mail is waiting so that I must Close

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Natchez Aug^{t}. 9th 1804.

My dear Son

I wrote to you and also the Dear Little Girls by the last Mail—I am now here tending the Superior Court and am in good health tho the weather is very warm I have a room in a red House that stands as it were on

one of the Hills of this place alone. There are other Gentlemen in other rooms but distinct from mine for I have only such Company as I invite or Acquaintances that Come particularly to see me and my provisions are brought to my room from a Tavern some little distance off—The hill is high and pleasant and affords a prospect of the City and Great River—The Court House stands on a nother Hill in the middle of the City 300 yards from this.

I forgit, as I was much Engaged last week whether I mentioned in my last letter a Murder Committed in the wilderness 80 miles beyond the last House of this Territory on the post Road to Nash Ville—The person murdered was a M^{r}. M Canpen of Georgia & supposed to be murdered by two Robbers—There were two other Men travelling with him that we have not heard of since—This Information was bro^{t}. by the Post rider.

I have Read Lately the Travels or rather Military Expedition of *Ferdinand De Soto* in Florada, as the Spaniards then Called all this Country—De Soto was then Governor of Havana with the title of General of Florada—And for the purpose of Conquest and to find gold landed in Florada, in 1539. about a hundred leagues to the Eastward of the Harbor of Pensicola—and travelled westward to within two leagues of that Harbor—Then turned N. E. and pursued that Direction 430 leagues but ramb^{g}. much about on his way—In this rout he Crossed this Territory, to the East ward of Mobile, and Tennessee, and Kentucky, & the Ohio, into what is now the Ohio State, as wou'd seem from the distance and the Countries he discribes—He then turned westward and pursued that Course till he Crossed the Great River Misisipi somewhere between the Ohio and Misouiri, and travelled westward to the first ridge of Mountains when meeting with a river run^{g}. a long the foot of the Mountain, presumed to be the Arkansaw, he rambled down it to the Mouth, where

it Empties into the Misisipi and there died—The River and several Lakes near the Mountain are discribed as affording Great Quantities of Salt which the Indians near them manufactured in Earthen Vessels & used as an article of Trade with their Neighbors & there was the first place they met with salt after they passed from the Sea—So that Salt was not made then anywhere in what is now Tennessee, Kentucky or on the N. W. Shore of Ohio—Yet a former account in one of my Letters to you shewed that it had been made at the Saline Spring long before De Soto was in that Country tho by some revolution of the Country it is supposed the Knowledge was then lost—After the death of De Soto Moscoso, was Invested with the Command (for De Soto took 400 foot & 200 Horse on his rout with him) and Travelled S. W. ward pass^{d}. through several Indian Nations till he reached a River that fell towards the Sea beyond which the Indians were Savage & lived not in Towns nor could any of their Neighbors understand them, & then their Country was too poor to afford subsistance for the Spainards and therefore they returned to the mouth of the Arkinsaw built Vessels and decended the Misisipi to the Sea and then went to Mexico—In all this ramble they fortified many Camps for their own Safety & also found manny Indian Towns fortified in like manner with banks & Palisades set deep in the ground & strongly & neatly wrought—so that this perhaps may acc^{t}. for the old fortification in the western Country as they seem to be near the ramblings of De Soto—but he says Nothing of the Mounds we see in this Country but he speaks in one place of searching the Tombs for Pearls where he got 14 bushels—but no articles have been discovered To be buried with those persons who are laid in the mounds—Bones only are discovered in some in others Even those are dissolved or Decomposed to dust again—Corn Rice, Peas & beans were plenty in some nations, and

also Cucumbers—and they found plenty of Nuts & wild plums—& once only met with Honey but never saw any Bees—Their Object was Gold but in all their ramble found none—The Troops with him were clad in Armour—This accounts for the Coat of Mail found some years ago in Tennessee—De Soto, had been an officer under *Pizaro* in the Conquest of Peru and Evinced many of his Traits of Cruelty among the Indians and laid most of their Countries waste as he went on, tho many of Nations he passed through were then very populous & their Land pretty well Cultivated, which he often laid waste and this may in some degree account for the more Savage State the Indians have been in Since—

This Little book being a Naration of facts Affords much useful information—It was Printed in English 1686, and Sent by Doct^{r}. Bartan of Philad^{a}. to M^{r}. W^{m}. Dunbar of this Territory, who lent it to me, to discover the Tracks of De Soto, & the parts of the Country through which he rambled—M^{r}. Fitz, one of the Young Surveyors is now deliniating his Tract on a Map of the Country for me and when finished I shall send you a Copy off it—Our Doq^{t}. Contains to this Count 100, actions at Issue, so that you see there is plenty of business here—

we have heard this week of the Duel of Burr & Hamilton and of the death of the latter & speeches made about it, The Feds here have Copied those of N. Y. in puting on Mourning on the Occasion—we observed too a Change in the Brittish Ministry & a New Struggle to make Bonaparte Emperor of the Galls &c.—All things are quiet here but at Orleans the French Inhabitants are making a great bustle to obtain An Admission into the Union and all the Advantages of American Citizens &c. &c. as you will see by their Memorials in the papers—Some are alarmed at this bustle but I view it as no disadvantage or danger to the Union. It

may tend to disseminate american principle more rapidly among them and therefore may tend to advantage without danger for they are too few if Even their designs were Evil to do much Injury.

Understanding that despatches arrived some time ago from Madrid we have been desirous of & Expecting to hear that West Florada is relinquished to us, but nothing on that head has reached us yet.

There is daily a great increase of population In this Territory by imigration from other Places and many persons of Caractor & Fortune are flocking here—Last week I, as high Priest, joined Gen^{l}. Matthews of Georgia who was Govern^{r}. of that State when the Yazo Grants were made to a M^{rs}. Carpenter, a few miles from Washington. Apropos, last Evening I walked up to Major F. L. Claiborn to see M^{rs}. Poindexter a young Lady I had lately Married to the Att^{y}. Gen^{l}. but the Ladies were out at M^{r}. Wallaces in the next Square, and on hearing I was there M^{rs}. Claiborn was sent by the Ladies to Invite me over there, and when I went, found an Assembly there of Ten or a dozen of the finest Ladies of the City and Territory—where they had met to spend the Evening, Shields & other gentlemen were there & Shields's beloved Miss P. Dunbar, &c &c They were mostly young Ladies and young married Ladies, and spent much of the Evening in selling Pawns &c and would not Excuse me from Entering into the Amusement with them—the pleasantry Ended with Music; and then a flock of the Ladies, & some of the Gentlemen, Conducted me nearly to my Lodging with a Lamp carried by one of the Ladies who walked with me—I mention this merely as a Trait of the Chearful and pleasant Manners of the place and tho I sit here on the hills of the Misisipi distant, far distant, from my friends, my sweet friends of Delaware, yet that my Situation is not altogether solatory—the young people as well as the old seem pleased with my Company and

I am often told that I am the only person that Ever was in the Territory that no one has ever said a word against—Yet I have done nothing more than Endeavor to Conduct myself up rightly with placid and good manners to all—

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Washington M. T. September 7th 1804.

My dear Son,

By the last mail I rec'd. Letters from Mr. J. Fisher, Mr. Witherad, Mr. Maxwell & Mr. Higgins of Delaware —Mr. Fisher informs me you had passed on Down to the Chancery Court in Sussex Mr. Witherads in a friendly Communication, which I shall answer in due time—he states your family and other friends about Wilming being well &c. Mr. Maxwells & Mr. Higgins are addressed to me in favor of a young Mr. Armstrong of Delaware, which I shall respect & answer in due time —but have not lezure yet as I propose setting off tomorrow on a Visit to Col Ellis, President of the Senate or Legislative Council of the Territory he lives on the Buffalo about 20 miles below this and perhaps I may go 50 or 60 miles further to see the Country for we can do nothing till after November but take Testimony which now Can be done in my absence as all the Board have now become acquainted with the mode of doing it & the business hitherto having Chiefly laid on my hands they are willing I should take a little rest tho Williams has not yet returned nor have we heard from him—In respect to Armstrong the assistt. Clerkship is still open —but I rec'd. a letter also by the last mail from C. R. W. Dated Wilkes barre Wyoming where he informs me he is acting as Clerk to the Commissioners for settling the Claims of Land there and that he expects that business will End in Novembr. when he proposes Coming here—I shall write to him on that head as my letters

heretofore held out the appt'. to him—It is however but a small object and living here very expensive & I have thought his Chance better in Pensylvania than here yet and have generally advised him to stay there or at least not come here till a more profitable appointment offers—I hear too from his friends that C. R. W. has become Idle and dissapated which I am very sorry for both on his own account and his friends particularly his mother who if he was to behave well he would be soon able to assist—and who stands in need of it but this in the meantime I shall not forgit to do—Shall order some money next fall & Expect she will not be in want before that time—In respect to our business here— Williams being Absent a sugestion from the Sect^{y}. of the Treasury has stoped the Register from agreeing with me in Issuing Certificates till after the last day of November which will lengthen the time of our stay here very much & leaves no prospect of returning till the Winter after next we might with Propriety Issue 5 or 600 Certificates before December next which would greatly forward the business—and I fear this delay will make the People very uneasy, tho' they are very quiet yet, but this is founded on the expectation of our proceeding and when they know we stoped till all the Brittish Claims Come in they may Change & git alarmed, for already it has been reported (no doubt without foundation) that M^{r}. Gallatin is buying up all the Brittish Claims for his own use—but if there be any ground for such a report it must arise from his being authorized by the President to make Compromises with Claimants of that Sort, to a Void trouble and disputes with them &c. Gov^{r}. Claiborne and wife have both been Ill at Orleans and she expected not to recover; it is said to be sickly there—If Munro does not accept of the Government of it is Expected here that Claiborne will be Continued tho' it is said by many he has become very unpopular there. His brother

Major F. L. C. told me that wether he is Continued there or not he had wrote to the President that [seal covers it] would not return to this Territory again—So that [seal covers it] governor must be appointed here—but this Perhaps will not be done till Congress meets—There is a good deal of party dispute here about their Legislature &c. &c. which I do not meddle with—but Continue an impartial Conduct which appears Essential to the Land Business, and is approved by all—Present my affectionate regard to Susan and the Children and my respects to all enquiring friends and I request Susan to present my affectionate friendly regard to our Cousin Miss M Vining, whose lonely situation requires the attention of friends to Chear her Mind and Enliven her Spirits. She is an Excellent and lovely Woman and I wish the Little girls to visit her often.

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Oct^{r}. 13th 1804.

My dear Son,

We have not heard from home for several Weeks; Suppose you have all been busy, about the Election but is now over and we are anxious to hear the Event tho we are not without some doubts of general success—I see by the papers that Spain insists on holding west Floraday from us. That Part of the Cession is very important to the U. S. on account of its situation and the Influence it must and will always have to interrupt the Trade of the Western Country—But it would soon be obtained if war should take Place between Spain & the U. S. for the Spirit of the western people is very high on that Subject—Indeed they would rejoice perhaps at an Opertunity of not stoping short of the City of Mexico. The Spainards however are prepairing to hold on—they have lately as we are informed sent 6

Schooners with 300, Troops and Provisions with arms and amunition to *Battan Rouge.*

A spunk has been made in some papers about Kemper and his party but that was a More private quarrel with a few Individuals who were obliged to leave the Country and when I was at the line had relinquished all further attempts—Yet I observe that the President is accused of underhandedly incouraging that insurrection; but if any Encourage had been given from such authority, it probable the Spainards would have been Driven out of that Territory in a few weeks—Claiborne we hear is to be Continued in Orleans and that Daponso of Philad^{a}., Hall of S. C. & Kirby, are appointed Judges & some Person of N. Y—also—Yet have not seen this yet announced by authority—M^{r}. Dunbar & Doct^{r}. Hunter have gone off to assend part of the Red River and thence up the Washataw &c to Explore that part of the Country—Briggs & Williams have not returned yet and as we Issue no Certificates we only sit every Monday to take Testimony—I continue in perfect health and so does the Major and Shields, Indeed since the middle of September the weather has been as pleasant as could be wished—Give my love to Susan and the Children and my respects to all Enquiring friends—as the mail is Waiting I must here Close this letter and perhaps may have more lezure when I write again—

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. October 20th 1804,

My dear Son,

Expecting this will meet you at Washington I shall direct it to you there—I see in the Papers that the Spanish minister has been detected in attempting to Engage Major Jackson in his service to advocate their

Claim to west Florada and that the President is charged of incurraging the Insurrection which lately took place there—I informed you heretofore that I had been down to the Hights and as far as the line of Demarkation—at Pinkney-Ville I saw the two Kempers and the two Cobbs, and a number of their associates after they had fled from West Florada, and was informed by one of the Cobbs a pretty Intelligent man that they had been excited to the attempt they had made only on their own private accounts for the injustice and Illusage they had received from Gran Pree the Spanish Governor or Commandant at Battan Rouge not a word was said of receiving any encurragement from the President or any other person in the United States; but they appeared to be excited to it merely on the Expectation that the Country would soon be delivered to the United States, and keep possession, or rather to regain possession of property which they said Gran Pree had deprived them unjustly off—and as they asked me of the prospect of the Countrys being delivered up and Complained of the Treatment of the Governor as afs[d]. I advised them that it was not known to me when it would be delivered, and that it had been very Imprudent and absurd in them with a few men to brave the Spanish government, as their conduct could not be justified by the United States, nor could they expect with only 30, men to withstand the power of the Spanish Government; and that it was best for them to remain quiet, untill the Country should be delivered over; for that Complaint would be made against them, in which case they would not be permitted to carry on hostilities against the Spainards and retire into the territory as an Asylum, for this would involve the United States in a war with Spain; which was Contrary to the wishes of our government—they answered that they should not attempt anything further but would remain quiet—but I believe all the american In-

habitants of that Country & all others but the few Spainards that are in it are very anxious for the Change tho' but few of them were imprudent enough to join Kemper—This business has made much more noise to the Eastward than it was Entitled to; and the Spainards probably thinking Kemper was incurraged by the U. S.. have been much alarmed & have been as I informed you in my last increasing their force at Battan Rouge—and I am informed all the Officers of the Floradas are to assemble at Battan Rouge in a short time to hold a grand Consultation on this business—Major S. Minor who lives near Natchez and is still a Spanish Officer it seems is sent for and going to meet them there.

Except the Island of Orleans West Florada is of more importance to the U. S. at present than all the rest of the Cession of Louisiana and therefore I trust that the U. S. will never relinquish their just Claim to it—tho I hope the Spainards will not be so foolish as to oblige us to demand it by force, for if war was once Commenced between the two Nations Even the American government afterwards could not prevent the americans from overrunning both the Mexicos. Every person of Consideration have waited patiently not doubt^{s}. that when the matter was discussed with the Spanish Court they would deliver up that part of the Cession peaciably; but their rejection of this is heard with the more indignation by such—and altho' they would very reluctantly resign the wand of Peace, they would rather enter into an open war than relinquish that important part of the Cession—This is the Temper of the western country but they rely with Confidence on the Legislature & Government of the United States to do what is best—Send my love to Susan and the Children and present my respects to all my friends in Congress and at the Seat of Government, and Espe-

cially to our friend Nicholson, to whom I shall take pleasure of writing perhaps by the next mail.

N.B. I still continue in perfect health.

Thomas Rodney.

P.S. I inclose one of the Poison tusks of a large Rattle Snake which Shields and myself Killed as I went below, which I took out and left with M^r^. Dunbar as I went along and he prepaired it for me against my return, in the Manner you here receive it—They have 5 or 6 such on each Side the uper jaw—

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Washington M. T. Oct^r^. 20^th^. 1804.

My dear Son,

I have wrote a letter to you of this day Chiefly respecting west Florada &^c^. This is to give you some account of the boiling springs at the foot of the Mountains on the west side of the Misisipi and near the head of the Washataw River which is a branch of the Red River M^r^. A. Ellis, M^r^. King & M^r^. J. Forster three Respectable Planters of this Territory have been over into that Country and have lately returned from the Springs where they went for to recover health &^c^. I have seen King and Foster & received from them the information I herein Communicate Ellis was in an Ill State of health and was affected also in some degree with the palsie which rendered particular parts of him in sensible—he recovered in every respect only the parts so affected did not recover sensation—yet thinks they would also have recovered if he Could have stayed long Enough. King was far gone in what the Doctors called a Consumption & was beside nearly blind—he got perfectly restored to health & his Eyesight—& says he can see now as well as ever he could. Foster was troubled with rheumatism & has got also restored So that the waters of those springs have the Virtue to heal both the lame and blind &c. the water flows in

great abundance from the Chief Spring and is boiling hot & will boil Meat or anything of that Sort, and take the Skin off the hand if put into it; a great steam rises from it where it first breaks out into the Atmosphere in this they set on a stone or rock and it soon throws them into a profuse persperat^{n}. Then they run out into the Cold air and so repeat this process frequently and lastly plunge into a Cold Stream just by immediately on leaving the Smoke of the Spring. They were taught this mode of using the Spring by the Indians who brought one of their sick Chiefs there who could not walk and after being placed in the Steam of the Spring and in the Cold air, three or four times alternately he was able to walk back & forward, & Continued the process Eleven times always faning to expedite the Effect of the air till the last time and then coming out of the Steam in a profuse sweat he plunged into the cold water stream; and after this King & Foster followed his example and found it Effectual—

There is a spring of Cold water not far off which by its Killing one of the people that went with them they thou^{t}. a poison spring but probably he only drank too much being very warm & thirsty for they brought home some of the water of both Springs and Doct^{r}. McCrery has tried them and finds nothing in Either but pure water yet his analysation perhaps was not perfect for I tasted the water of both—that said to be poison has no peculiar taste but that of the boiling Spring has a strong calibeat taste—King was to bring me some of the water of each but I have not received them yet—He gave me however a nomber of Fosil productions that seem Allied to the water of the boiling spring, which shew the Cause of its heat & Enables one in some degree to Judge of its qulaties—Some of these Fosils are Transparent Cristals purely white like duble Flint glass—Others are Metalic—Doct^{r}. Hunter says the Cristals are lime with a mixture of Nitrous Acid—I have tried several of the Metalic fossils with

Nitrous acid which dissolves the greater part of all of them Causing a great degree of fermentation and heat; which tends to shew how the water of the spring becomes heated. to wit the Nitrous Acid flowing with the water among those Fossils which Compose the Mountain & therefore it is no doubt in some degree Calibeat—Many of the Fossils look like rich gold Ore but are too light to Contain much of that Mettal or any other tho' there is, no doubt, some little of some sort in some of them but I had no test or refiners by me but the Nitrous Acid, and had not time to weigh them in water Indeed De Soto & Moscoso, examined those Mountains with such attention that I do not apprehend much Gold or Silver will be found there—

Two Nights ago my Horse I fear was stolen as he has never gone off himself for 9 m^{os}. past & I cannot hear of him so that I fear some Villan has taken off to the States as these are Tricks often play'd here—he is a large sorrel horse 15 hands high and well made and only 2 years old last Spring had no white about him only a small strip in his face but has one thing remarkable his tail is large & bushy and has a Crook by nicking which makes it hang to the right side a little but no doubt if stolen they will Cut his tail. I intended if Wood had gone by land to have sent him to you last spring to match yours, but he went by water—as I have not time to write to Fisher you can write to them—Give my love to Cousin S. Pleasonton & his wife & the girls & tell him I recd his answer to my last letter—he mentions C. A. W. and wishes he could obtain a Clerkship there You will Enquire into the propriety of this, as there is nothing here worth attention at Present—I fear from what I have heard that C. A. W. without some attention will be lost to himself if not a Trouble to his Mother & friends.

Thomas Rodney.

I have not heard from home
for 6 weeks past—

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington Misisipi T. Oct^{r}. 31st. 1804.

My dear Son,

The Spanish aggressions and esspecialy the retention of West Florida are Kindling high resentment in the People here who feel much interested in obtaining that part of the Cession so Material to their Communication with new Orleans—Col: Hutchins, whose son lives below the line, told me yesterday that the reinforcement sent to Batton Rouge was not so large as had been given out by them that it Consisted only of fifty men—That they had demanded one 5th of the Negros of all the inhabitants to Cut a road from Batton Rouge to the River Amiti; this is Intended to make a Communication that way that in Case of a rupture they may send supplies to that Fort without going up the Misisipi. The Inhabitants think this a Trick too to robb them of their property as they do not think the Negross will be returned again. They are indeed in a Critical Situation and are very uneasy and it seems doubtful whether this arbitrary measure will not cause a General Insurrection for Most of the Inhabitants are Americans and very anxious to git from under the Spanish Yoke—The old officers here both of the Revolution and of the Former western Army have many of them been to me to desire that in case of a Rupture they may be Imployed; among those who have thus expressed themselves is Major F. L. Claibourne, brother to the governor, who wishes to obtain the office of Brigadier; Col-Ozmun, present Commandant of the Militia here, and an old Revolutionary Capt^{n}. from New Jersey; Col-Ponnal, also an old Revolutionary Capt^{n}. from Georgia, and who was sometime Surveyor General of that State; Capt^{n}. Scot who was a Capt^{n}. in the former western army and acted as adjutant—all these are healthy active men and men of property here: and

there are many others officers and soldiers here, who are said to be of the same mind, and would turn out in case of a Serious rupture; Indeed in this Case the whole Country appears of One mind—Yet they prefer peace upon Honorable Terms, but not with a relinquishment of west Florida—I will now express a few of my own Sentiments—If a serious Rupture should happen everything that is dear to the Spaniards in this Country, will be at stake; & there is no doubt but they will exert all their powers against us to preserve it—and if the Struggle should become Critical and important while I am in this Country, I do not Know that I could restrain myself from taking an active part in it, as Soon as the Land business here would admit of it—and many of the old officers here have expressed their wish to be under my Command, and say they would follow even to the City of Mexico, if necessary—but if I should ever Act in the Regular Service again, I could not accept of any Commission less than that of a Major General, as that Rank was offered to me in Jan^{y}. 1777—and I was then much pressed by several of the general officers, to accept: but our own State then required my Presence, & I was obliged to decline the offer—and at this day I could not act in a lesser station, but would sooner Act as a Volunteer, that I might occasionally be where my Counsel and experience, would be most serviceable—and if it was such as the Commander in Chief and his Council prefered in December 1776, at that awful moment when our Independance stood in horror on the very brink of ruin, It might be of some use on other important occasions, at this day in the military department; if there should be any—yet as I never have solicited any office whatever in the Course of a long life of public service, I cannot do it now, tho' from the health and strength I enjoy, I am Confident I could do my duty at this day, as well as I did when I led the van of the american army, in Jan^{y}. 1777 from Delaware to

Morristown, through that glorious Period which fixed the Independence of america, on a basis that could not afterwards be Shaken.

But however freely I have thus expressed my own mind, as well as that of others, for the information of government, if there should be occasion, yet I hardly think the Spainards will be so unwise as to provoke America to war—and that, however reluctantly, they will resign west Floriday sooner than risk the loss of that, and more important possessions—and as I am pursuaded their gold & silver mines would be distructive to the industry of America, if in our possession;—and that, in Case of a war, it would not be possible to restrain our people from overunning those Countries I hope a war may be rendered unnecessary by the Spainards delivering over the whole of the Country Ceded to us by France.

Taking it for granted that the Legislature intended the first allowance of 2000, Dollars as Compensation up to the first day of December next, I shall enclose you a draft on the Secretary of the Treasury for 500 Dol^{s}. of that allowance, which are still unpaid—If he pays it you must transmit two hundred Dollars of it to M^{r}. John Fisher, for the use of your Sisters Children, and part as a Present to Sally and Betsey—as I shall now particularly direct him. To wit, I shall direct 40, dollars to each of the Children, 40, to Sally, & 40 to Betsey, in Lieu of Presents which I had ordered *Wood* to send from Philadelphia; who did not git my Letter, & of course did not send them, as he informed me since his return—and I wish you to make such Presents to Susan & your own Children out of the remaining 300, as you may think best unless you have occasion to make better or more necessary use of them—Thus I leave this to yourself—we know not in what manner we are to be paid the 6 dollars a day, as the Secretary of the Treasury has not wrote us a word on the subject—There is

plenty of public money here in the Collectors hands, tho' it is Equally convenient to draw on the Treasury, as our drafts will always sell for Cash.

The Board has been held hitherto in what is called the Government House so that we have had no rent to pay, but on the first of December we shall have to move out, to give place to the Legislature, and then shall have to pay rent for a large House; for the business requires four Rooms at least—and not a Cent is allowed for House Rent, firewood, or any other expense, necessary in doing this business; and this has fallen Chiefly on me, as there has been long no one else to pay it—Surely there is no other government that expects their officers to pay all such expenses on such occasions—and surely it is as necessary, a public charge, as the House rent, stationary &c. &c. of the public offices at the Federal City—Things of this Sort, Certainly ought to be regulated by the legislature—yet I should have been silent on this subject if other officers did not press for Something to be said—that some regulation may be made that may accomodate others as well as themselves in the Course of time—for much of the same Kind of business will be to do in other parts of the Country—I love frugallity and economy in the Management of public Money, but I view Parsimony & extravagance as extremes that are Equally productive of Evil—The weather has been cooler here since the Middle of September, than it usually is in Delaware in the same Period—we have had large White Frosts for a week past, and have been obliged to Keep fires for more than a month: Yet the last news from Orleans says the Yellow Fever was bad there—but the late Frost has probably stoped it before now. Governor Claiborn's lady and Child, both died with it; and the governor was dispaired of some time but recovered—we shall probably mention to Congress some alterations &c. necessary in the Land Law and I

shall write to M^r^. Nicholson on the subject as he was Chairman of the Committee.

Thomas Rodney.

November 1^st^. 1804.

P. S. Upon Reflection I find in the application of the money mentioned in my letter, I omitted some thing which I intended; That is that you should procure, Each of Lavinias Children, as well as your own, a Lottery ticket in one or more of the best Lotteries now on Foot; I mean by best those which propose the highest Prizes; and let those of your own Children be in Partnership and those of Lavinias Children in another partnership, that each may share the good or bad fortune of the rest,—also buy one for Susan, one for Sally and one for Betsy Fisher to be paid out of the money of each before respectively appropriated to them—and I also request you to buy one for myself in the Lottery that has a 20000, Prize—for heretofore I have always been fortunate enough in Lotteries to draw more Prizes than blanks and as some one must draw the highest Prize, it may fall to my lot—at any rate it is but risking a liftle Money for the Chance of gitting a good deal—Even 1500, Dols. now would purchase a large landed Estate in this Country—and among all there will be several Chances—

I have wrote to our friend M^r^. Nicholson and noticed some alter^ns^ necessary in the Land Law which I have requested him to Communicate to you—we shall also write in Substance the same to M^r^. Gallatin—I shall also send M^r^. Nicholson, a long letter which I wrote several months ago, by this mail—it gives him some little account of this western Country &^c^ tho probably he has heard most of it from you before, as probably there is nothing in it but what you had from time to time from me—

I have also written several Letters, since I entered

into the western Country to the President, communicating such information as I thought might afford him some amusement, but as I have heard nothing from him, have long since ceased further Communication—perhaps they were rendered uninteresting by his receiving more satisfactory information from other sources—but however that may be I shall not Cease to Communicate to other friends whatever occurs in this Country that I think will be acceptable to them & amusing. As I have not received any letters from home for 5 or 6 weeks past I shall not Close this till the mail arrives which we expect today—Now I think of it I wish to request Mr. Smith and Mr. Wilson, in future to Direct my Papers to this Place as hitherto they have gone by to Natchez where I have to send for them and often do not git them.

Our Cousin S. Pleasanton was at some expense and trouble, on my application in the Secretary of States office which I desire you to pay as I could [not] get a bank bill here to send him, and Present him my thanks and regard as I have not had time to write to him since receiving his last letter.

We have heard by the Post Rider that Mr. Briggs is at Tombigbee but have heard nothing certain of Mr. Williams yet—they have both been absent ever since March last and left the Toil to [illegible] and it is fortunate that I have had such good health.

Most of what is Called the good Lands in the Territory are covered by one Sort of Claim or another, and the residue is mostly what is Called here Pine Barrons but as many of the Presumption Claimants are Settled on some of that Kind of Land several of them have lately told me that it produces very fine Corn and that it excels Even the richest land in producing Cotton—This information is favorable to the United States, as the opinion here of that land has been that it was worth nothing and of Course would not sell or be settled at

the Congress price—but if the account of its excelling the rich land is verified by a few years experience it will soon sell & be settled, for Cotton is the rage of this Country.

When mentioning officers I omitted our Clerk Major R. Claiborne of Virginia who was a Revolutionary officer & would also turn out if there is Occasion he was sometime aid to Gen^{l}. Green—I have no hesitation in saying that, if such a war should happen and a new army to be raised, the old Revolutionary & other experienced officers ought to be preferred.

Saturday Nov^{r}. 3^{d}. 1804.

The mail expected on Thursday did not arrive till this Evening. I received no Letters from Delaware tho' the Post brought two Mails, but learn from the Intelligencer and from a Letter to M^{r}. Shields from M^{r}. M^{c}Coom, that the Republican Party has been totally defeated in Delaware—This however was not unexpected to me—after seeing their Plan, I apprehended this Event—As to yourself it will afford you an opertunity of attending more to your own Interests, but if the Federal party should exercise the governmet with the same party Spirit they formerly did they may render the State very disagreeable to the Republicans at least to many of them whose exertions have rendered them obnoxious—As this Event may more strongly incline you & J. Fisher to Contemplate a removal, I have at least for the Present suspended the order I proposed sending by the Present Mail till I can consider more on the Subject as there is no place where money Could be laid out to more advantage than here in Lands and I have been pressed much to procure a freehold Estate at least here—but if you and Fisher should at any time become serious in a removal there is no place where you Could expect greater advantages than here and in that Case it would be convenient to to have some previous Estab-

lishment—This however being only a sudden thought I suspend the order to Contemplate it further.

Thomas Rodney.

The Spanish Embassadors reply to Major Jackson seems to Indicate that the Spainards would rather settle with us peaceably—This will Certainly be best if they Will give up west Florida and Louisiany westward Imbracing all the waters of the Misisipi westward to their sorces.

(To be continued.)

THE COCK-FIGHTER.

AN UNPUBLISHED POEM BY FRANCIS HOPKINSON.

One of the most interesting collections of historical documents in this country is that owned by the well-known illustrator, Mrs. Florence Scovel Shinn, of New York. She is a granddaughter of Judge Joseph Hopkinson, a very prominent political, literary and social figure in Philadelphia during the first quarter of the nineteenth century; a great-granddaughter of Francis Hopkinson, a friend of Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin, and himself distinguished, not only in his native city but throughout the country, as a jurist, statesman, scientist, inventor, artist, musician, poet, and essayist; and a great-great-granddaughter of Thomas Hopkinson, a friend of Benjamin Franklin, a Provincial Councillor of Pennsylvania, and one of the founders of the American Philosophical Society and the College of Philadelphia,—now the University of Pennsylvania. From these distinguished ancestors Mrs. Shinn has inherited, not only a great amount of historical material written by themselves but letters and other documents in the hand-writing of almost every other American of any consequence who lived between 1750 and 1850.

One of the most interesting documents of this collection is the original manuscript of the poems and essays of Francis Hopkinson, most of which were published in the Philadelphia press and later printed in the three-volume collection of his works, published in 1792.

While examining this manuscript some time ago, the author of this article found a poem, which, so far as

he has been able to discover, has never before been published. This amusing bit of doggerel, which is entitled "The Cock-Fighter, an Elegy," runs as follows:

"Ah me! what means this cackling all around?
Hen cries to *Hen* & Chicken shrilly sound;
A Father *these, those* mourn a Husband dead,
By cruel Hands to bloody Battle led.

"See from N—— Y—— D—— comes in state,
And twenty *fighting Cocks* around him wait,
All arm'd with steel & ready for the War—
Chicks fly amaz'd & Hens the Sight abhor.

"From yonder Barn sad sounds salute mine Ear,
And thus methinks the Notes of Woe I hear:
'Curs'd be the Hour that bro't him to this place,
That savage Foe to all our harmless Race!

" 'Attend my little Brood, & whilst I sing,
Oh gather close beneth my shelt'ring Wing!
A Father *you*, a Husband *I* deplore—
D—— came, & Dicky is no more.

" 'At Yester-Morn, while yet the Morn was grey,
My Dicky rose and hail'd the rising Day:
Ah, what avail'd his Voice so clear & shrill,
His glossy Neck, gay Plumage, polish'd Bill.

" 'Or coral Comb that grac'd his lofty Head,
Or cockly Strut when forth our Train he led?
For ere the Sun to hastening Night could yield,
Poor Dicky lay, all mangled, on the Field.

" 'Thus are we left—Oh barb'rous Sport of Men!
Poor Orphans you, And I a widow'd Hen.
Is't not enough our harmless Race must bleed
To crown your Feasts, ev'n luxury to feed?

" 'That ere our pretty Cocklings learn to crow,
To pamper Lust they must to Market go?
But will you thus, on fatal Mischief bent,
For our destruction cruel Sports invent?

" 'Hence! hence away, & leave this bloody Plan,
Pursue some nobler purpose, worthy Man!
Think'st thou that Heav'n was to thy Fortunes kind,
Gave Wealth & Pow'r, gave an immortal Mind,

"'With boasted Reason, & a* ruling Hand
To make thee first Cock-Fighter in the Land?
With crimson Dye our blood shall spot thy Fame
And Chickens yet unhatch'd shall curse D——'s Name.'

The reader will observe that the division between the last two stanzas is a rather awkward and arbitrary one. As originally written, the ninth stanza ended with the couplet

"Thy country calls thee,—on her welfare wait;
Go soothe the disorders of her troubled State."

but this the author crossed out and replaced with the lines quoted above. This clumsy conclusion tends to strengthen the supposition that the verses were never published, for, while Hopkinson was not a great poet, he was too careful a workman and too skilful a versifier to allow these stanzas as they appear here to go into print.

The political bearing of the deleted lines; the disguised name, D——; and the footnote at the end all seem to indicate that we have here, not only an interesting specimen of early humanitarian literature, but a good-natured bit of satire directed at some prominent individual: and it may be of some historical interest to try to establish the identity of the person against whom the attack is made.

By scanning the various lines in which D——'s name appears, we find that it must be a word of three syllables, accented on the second. N—— Y——, according to metre and common sense, can hardly be anything but New York. With these deductions and Hopkinson's note to help us, we turn to the records of the New York Colonial Assembly for the years just preceding 1770, the date of the poem, and find there only one name which begins with D and fulfills our metrical requirements, and that is the name DeLancy. This,

1770. * He was a member of Assembly."

of course, would settle the matter, were it not that there were three different DeLancys in the Assembly between 1765 and 1770. Moreover, the entire clan seems to have been celebrated for its fondness for horse-racing, cock-fighting, and kindred sports,[1] so that the epithet "Cock-Fighter" will not serve to identify any particular one of them.

John DeLancy succeeded his father, Peter DeLancy, as a member of the New York Assembly in 1767; but since the former was very young at that time, and since the latter died in 1770, neither of them is so likely to be the man satirized by Hopkinson as one of their relatives, Captain James DeLancy, son of the Lieutenant-Governor, and one of the wealthiest, as well as one of the ablest men of the province. He was elected to the Assembly in 1767 and remained active in New York politics until the outbreak of the Revolution, when he fled to England. Like most of his family he was attainted and deprived of his estate for his Loyalist activities.[2] This, then, is probably the personage who came to Philadelphia in 1770, with his twenty fighting-cocks, armed with steel, and brought on himself the ridicule of the humane and kindly poet.

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(1) See James G. Wilson's *Memorial History of the City of New York*, vol. ii, pp. 458–9.

(2) See Thomas Jones's *History of New York During the Revolution*, vol. i, pp. 18, 37, 154–158, etc.

AN EARLY NEW JERSEY POLL LIST.

BY HENRY C. SHINN, MOUNT HOLLY, N. J.

Following is a copy of the poll list of an election held in Burlington, New Jersey, October 9, 1787, for members of the Council and Assembly. Two hundred and fifty-eight votes were cast. At that period the New Jersey law granted suffrage to "all inhabitants of this state, of full age, who are worth fifty pounds proclamation money, clear estate in the same", and the words "all inhabitants of full age", were construed by many election officials to include women. The poll list shows that two voted—Iona Curtis number 114; and Selvenia Lilvey, number 213. The law provided that the poll should be open two days, but might be adjourned for short periods. Apparently all the qualified voters presented themselves on the first day of the poll, for the list is endorsed on the back as follows:—

Votes and Proceedings of the Election begun at the Court House in the County of Burlington the 9th. day of October 1787 and ended the same day.

The document then continues:

At an election holden at Burlington in and for ye County of Burlington on third day the 9th. of October 1787. Votes taken as followeth.

Voters' Names.	*Voters' Names.*
Isaac Cogal Esq.	Thom's Rodman
Joseph Fenimore	Job Prickett
John Butler	Sam'l Rodgers
Caleb Haines	Thom's Matthew
5 Joseph Newbold	Gardner

Voters' Names.

John Phillips Esq.
Nathaniel Middleton
Henry Jones
Thom's Hollinshead
Will'm Wood
Robert Pearson
John Thorne
Joshua M. Wallis
John Thorne Jun.
Thom's Smith
Andrew Hisler
Joseph Stokes
Joseph Bromley
John Hancock
Robert Pearson
Peter Stretch Esq.
John Fort
George Woodward
Aaron Taylor
Sam'l Pierce
Joseph Read Esq.
Israel Ridgway
Phillip Bound
Job Lippincott
Jos'h Moar
Sam'l Atkinson
John Taylor
Benjamin Hough
Thom's Eyrle
Mannaduke Watson
Reheboam Bradach
Jos'h Brown
Jos'h Pancost
Benj'm Brown
George Langstaff
John Eyrle

Voters' Names.

Joseph Budd
Bruce Edwards Esq.
Sam'l Wright
Peter Wright
Will'm Hazelton
Joseph Wright
Caleb Haines
Sam'l Jones
Thom's Taylor
Nathan Folwell
Henry Chambers
Thom's Haines
James Fenimore
Will'm Smith
Thom's Fenimore Esq.
Joseph Eyrle
Joseph Shin
Richard Watkin
Michael Eyrle
Edward Taylor
Sam'l Coles
Will'm Matlack
Joseph Biddle Esq.
Jos'h Lamb
Abraham Jones
Benah Taylor
Sam'l Jones
Sam'l Woolston
Japheth Garwood
Will'm Curlis
Will'm Hutchin
Barzillai Newbold
Job Jones
James Ewe
John Curlis

	Voters' Names.
	Sam'l Harvey
	John Elton
	Jos'h Burr
	John Wright
85	Jos'h Gaskill
	Jacob Platt
	Job Stockton
	Elihu Gant
	Isaac Budd
90	Will'm Duglas
	Josiah Foster Esq.
	Levy King
	George Hancock
95	Josh'a Saterthwait
	Will'm Saterthwait
	Robert Lucas
	Sam'l Hough
	Benj'm Atkinson
100	Will'm Whitton
	Thom's Thorne
	James Wilkins
	Jacob Austin
	Will'm Wright
105	Alexander Peacock
	Arney Lippincott
	Aaron Shinn
	Thom's Newbold
	Will'm Watkins
110	Abedingo Wright
	Caleb Newbold
	Abraham Hewlings Jun.
	Joseph Ridgaway
	Iona Curtis
115	Richard Stockton
	John Rodman

	Voters' Names.
	Uz Gant
	Daniel Lilley
	Joshua Bearton
120	Sam'l Fenimore
	Caleb Shreve
	Daniel Eevets
	Job Stockton
	Benj'm Shreve
125	John Deacon
	Sam'l Newton
	Joseph Lewis
	Robt. Stout Jones
	Thom's Reynolds Esq.
130	Barzillai Deacon
	Daniel Newton
	John Pope
	Isaac P. Rodman
	Sam'l Eyrle
135	James Murdock
	John Ler
	Jos'h Atkinson
	Solom'n Mason
	Uriah Woolman
140	Acquillai Shin
	Isaac Bunton Jun.
	Sam'l Woolston
	John Stockton
	John Morford
145	Zachariah Prickitt
	John Manns
	Joseph Barber
	Will'm Cowperthwait
	Benj'n Holloway
150	Levy Budd
	George Smith

Voters' Names.

Hugh Costelow
Will'm Faris Chesterfield
John Chiles
George Lilly
Nev Haines
Sam'l Stockton
John Neal
Thom's Merritt
Caleb Eyrle
Jonathan Stockton
John Sager
John How
Sam'l Bloomfield
Elijah Birdsall
Jos'h Edwards
Will'm Black Jun
Daniel Newbold
Thom's Stewart
Paul Crispin
Will'm Rodgers
Thom's Burr
——— adjourn
James Edsal
George Eyves
Isaac Lippincott
Amos Hutchin
John Allen
John Mullen
John Harber
Will'm Newbold Esq.
Boaz Read
Clayton Newbold
Job Hollins'h
Josh Bloomfield
Jos'h White

Voters' Names.

John Burr
Sam'l Peacock
Thom's Platt
John Shreve
Dan'l Bacon
Isaac Newton
John Allen
Thom's Neal
Dan'l Hancock
Dan'l Goise
Uriah Wilkins
Thom's Kerlin
Joseph Campion
Abraham Winner
Richard Cox
John Meirs
Umphrey Wall
Will'm S. Sprag
George Mitchell
Joseph Garwood
Amos Stratton
Benjamin Pine
Jacob Wills
Will'm Thimble
Will'm Deacon
Cornelias Branen
John Tompkins
John Roberts
Jacob Lamb
John Fenimore
Joseph Grouce
John Wilkins
John Ridgaway
Selvenia Lilvey
Joseph Hollinshead Esq

Voters' Names.

Sam'l Phillips
Pearson Fenimore
Joseph Stacy
Joseph Deacon
225 Will'm Bowadaill
James Craft
James Wills
Abraham VanSciver
Robert Deacon
230 Will'm Henry
George Homes
John Dobbins
James Fenimore
Herbert McRoy
235 Ellis Wright
John Folwell
John Kelley
Thom's Addams
Isaac Witherel
240 George Budd

Voters' Names.

Josiah Costelow
Francis Will'm Shippen
Ebenezer Tucker Esq.
Robert Thomas
245 Nathan Coleman
Will'm Cooper
Thom's Curtis Jun.
John Kays
Sam'l Eyves
250 Andrew Craig
Abraham Scott
Will'm English
Edwards Collins
John Rodgers
255 John Fenimore
James Sterling
Thom's Ruckels
John Smich

THE LOST WILL OF GEORGE TAYLOR, THE SIGNER.

BY JAMES B. LAUX.

The shameful looting of precious Colonial and Revolutionary letters and manuscripts from the State archives at Harrisburg, which took place during the regimes of complaisant, easy-going officials in other generations, is evidenced at almost every auction sale at Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Some idea of the vast extent of this peculation may also be had by looking through the catalogues of autograph dealers in these cities and by an examination of the manuscript collections in the public libraries and historical societies, as well as those of private collectors.

Much of this looting was due to the criminal carelessness and neglect of State officials who afforded autograph hunters free access to the priceless collections in their departments. Happily the watchfulness of the State Historians in recent years has put a stop to such piratical incursions and what remain of the collections are now jealously safeguarded.

What has been said here of the State archives can also be said of the records in many of the County Court houses. The crass stupidity of County Commissioners in ordering the destruction of books and documents of great historical value was matched often by highhanded and unauthorized destruction of records in other County offices. A notable instance of this wanton vandalism is had in the destruction of the early records of the County treasurer of Lehigh County a few years ago. The Treasurer needed a little more shelf room and acquired it by the burning of the earliest records covering a period of more than fifty years. The writer made this discovery when he sought access

to these records for the purpose of obtaining data for a school history he was writing. Disappointed here he turned with confidence to the School records at Harrisburg only to learn that they too had been destroyed by fire when the State Capitol was burned, thus wiping out of existence most important historical matter, the only sources from which the data desired could be obtained.

One of the most flagrant examples of the looting of County records was recently discovered by the writer when he found the lost will of George Taylor, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, in a famous collection of autographs now in the possession of a great library in New York City.

The will was no doubt stolen by an outsider from the Court House at Easton, the County Seat of Northampton County, Penn[a]. or by an employee of the Register of Wills and sold by him for a good round sum to some collector.

Not only has the destruction of public documents in many counties been deliberate, but much of it is going on at the present moment through the carelessness and disregard for safety shown in their storage in damp cellars, basements, in lumber rooms, and in garrets where the elements, rats and mice have full play with them. The Judges of the County Courts should call the attention of County officials to this criminal neglect of property belonging to the public. Some ignoramus holding office for a brief space can work incalculable harm to these collections. The Lost Books of Livy would be used by officials of this stamp in the lighting of the furnace fires. What possible chance for escape would writings of more recent date and less value, though priceless have at their hands?

The writer succeeded in securing a photostat copy of the George Taylor will, which he presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

WILL OF GEORGE TAYLOR.

Be it Remembered that I George Taylor of the Town of Easton in the County of Northampton and State of Pennsylvania Esquire being mindful of my Mortality and willing & desirous, whilst I am of sound Mind & Memory to settle and dispose of my Worldly Estate in such manner as to render it most beneficial to the Legatees thereof, have thought it requisite & convenient to make this my Testament & Last Will, as follows, that is to say, *First*, it is my Will that all my just Debts and Funeral Expenses be duly paid off & discharged *And* I do nominate & appoint my trusty & much esteemed Friends Robert Levers of the Town of Northampton in the said County of Northampton Esquire Robert Lettis Hooper Junr. of the State of New Jersey Esquire . . . . . and Robert Traill of the said Town of Easton Esquire to be Executors of this my said Testament & Last Will *And* I do hereby give & bequeath unto such one of them my said Executors as shall take upon him the Burthen of the Executorship or unto them conjointly acting the Sum of One Hundred Pounds Lawful Money of Pennsylvania over & besides what is usually allowed to Executors in the Register's Office *And* I do also give & bequeath unto the said Robert Levers my Silver mounted Double Barrel Gun, to be engraved thus, The Gift of George Taylor Esquire *And* I do likewise give and bequeath unto the said Robert Lettis Hooper Junr. a neat Silver mounted Small Sword to be thus engraved, In Memory of George Taylor Esquire *And* unto the said Robert Traill I do give & bequeath One Pair of Pistols *And* the better to enable my said Executors to pay off & discharge my Debts and Legacies I do hereby will & ordain that my said Executors and the Survivors & Survivor of them & the Executors or Administrators of the Survivor of them shall as soon as conveniently may be after my decease bargain sell & convey in Fee Simple all my Lots Lands Tenements & Hereditaments whatsoever or wheresoever For the doing executing & perfect finishing whereof I do by these Presents give grant & transfer to them my said Executors & the Survivors and Survivor of them & the Executors or Administrators of the Survivor of them full Power & Authority to grant bargain sell & convey the same & any & every Part thereof to any Person or Persons whomsoever & their Heirs & assigns for ever for such Price & Consideration as can be reasonably got *And* I do give unto my Housekeeper Naomi Smith in Consideration of her great Care & Attendance on me for a Number of Years past the Sum of Five Hundred Pounds Lawful Money aforesaid to be paid her within Six Months after my Decease *And* I do also give unto the said Naomi Smith One Bed & Bedstead together with such Household Goods & Furniture as my Executors in their Discretion shall judge most meet and convenient for her accommodation in her future Dwelling Place *And* I do give & bequeath unto my Grandson George Taylor the Sum of Five Hundred Pounds Like Money aforesaid in Right of his Primogeniture *And* as for & concerning all the Rest & Residue of my Goods Chattles Monies Effects and Estate Real &

Personal whatsoever not herein before disposed of It is my Will that the same shall be indifferently appraised & at the Discretion of my Executors divided, or sold for the best Prices that can be gotten therefor, and being so divided or sold, the same, or the Moneys arising from the Sale thereof shall be distributed into Two equal Parts One equal Moiety or Half Part whereof I give devise & bequeath unto my Five Grand Children viz^{t}. George, Thomas, James, Ann & Mary, to be equally parted and divided amongst them Share & Share alike & to be paid & delivered unto my said Five Grand Children at their several respective Ages of Twenty One Years And my Will & Meaning is that in case of the Death of either of my said Grand Children George, Thomas, James, Ann & Mary, under Age & without Lawful Issue the Part or Portion of him her or them so dying shall go & be equally divided amongst the Survivors & Survivor of them Share & Share alike if more than One & to be paid to such Survivors or Survivor at the Time aforesaid *And* as to the Other remaining equal moiety or Half Part thereof I will give & bequeath the Same unto Sarah Smith, Rebecca Smith, Naomi Smith, Elizabeth Smith, & Edward Smith, the Children of my said Housekeeper Naomi Smith & who now live and remain with her to be equally parted & divided amongst them Share & Share alike & to be paid & delivered unto Each of them the said Sarah, Rebecca, Naomi, Elizabeth & Edward, the Children of my said Housekeeper Naomi Smith as they & Each of them shall or may respectively attain to the Age of Twenty One Years And in case of the Death of either of the said Children to wit, Sarah, Rebecca, Naomi, Elizabeth & Edward, under Age & without Lawful Issue I do will and direct that the Portion or Share of him her or them so dying shall go & be equally divided amongst the Survivors & Survivor of them Share & Share alike if more than One & be paid to such Survivors or Survivor at the Time aforesaid And should it so happen that they the said Sarah, Rebecca, Naomi, Elizabeth, & Edward, the said Children of the said Naomi Smith all of them depart this Life under the Age of Twenty One Years and without Lawful Issue then and in that case I do will & give their Shares or Portions to be equally divided between my said Five Grand Children George, Thomas, James, Ann & Mary, Share and Share alike & to be paid & delivered unto my said Grand Children and in case of the Death of either of my said Grand Children under Age and without Lawful Issue to descend unto the Survivors & Survivor of them in like manner as the Moiety of the Residuum of my Estate in this my Will above devised & bequeathed unto them my Grand Children is directed to be paid & delivered & to descend *And* in regard to the Portions of my said Five Grand Children & the Five Children of the said Naomi Smith in this my Will given & bequeathed to them I do hereby will authorize & direct my said Executors, whom I do likewise hereby nominate to be their Guardians, to put the same at Interest on good & sufficient Securities from Time to Time until they shall respectively attain their Age of Twenty One Years And in the mean time I would have my Executors apply the annual Interest thereof in the best & most judicious

manner for & towards their due Maintenance & Education They my Executors on whose Fidelity in that Respect I greatly rely knowing my Mind therein *And* it is my Will & I do order that the said Naomi Smith may at the Discretion of my Executors be permitted to keep her said Five Children with her until they arrive at the Age of Ten Years but not longer During which Time my Executors shall pay her such Proportion of the Interest Money arising from their Dividends as they my Executors shall judge necessary and proper But after the said Five Children of the said Naomi Smith severally attain to the aforesaid Age of Ten Years my said Executors shall place them out at their Discretion *And Whereas* I have, in company with the late Louis Gordon Esquire, some Years ago, for a Valuable Consideration, purchased of a certain John Atkins a Certain Plantation and Tract or Tracts of Land situate on Marshall's Creek in Lower Smithfield Township in the said County of Northampton containing about Five Hundred Acres more or less which Plantation & Tract or Tracts of Land were afterwards sold by Us for the Sum of Seven Hundred & Fifty Pounds to Thomas Adams who has since bargained & sold the Premises to Isaiah Jennings *Now* it is my Will & I do hereby direct that upon the Payment of my Share of the said Sum of Seven Hundred & Fifty Pounds to my said Executors They and the Survivors or Survivor of them & the Executors or Administrators of the Survivor of them do & they are hereby empowered to make a good and sufficient Title for the Conveyance & assurance of my Proportion Share or Purport of the said Premise's to such Person or Persons as may be Legally entitled to the same *And* I do further order & direct that in case any or all of my Copartners in the Durham Iron Works should chuse to take my Share of the same into their Hands as Purchasers that they pay unto my Estate the several Sums advanced by me into the said Partnership together with my Share of the Profits that may have arisen thereon And in case of their and every of their Refusal that my Executors sell & dispose of the same to any Person or Persons for the best Price that can be gotten *And Lastly* Hereby Revoking all former & other Wills by me heretofore made, I do declare this only to be my Testament and Last Will *In Witness* whereof, I the said George Taylor the Testator have hereunto set my Hand & Seal the Sixth . . Day of January in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty One.

Signed Sealed Published & Declared by the said George Taylor the Testator as and for his Testament & Last Will in the Presence of Us the Subscribers who in his Presence and at his Request have signed our names as Witness thereunto— } Geo. Taylor.

Abraham berlin, Jacob Berlin,
Abraham Berlin Jun^r.

Northampton County Ss.

On the tenth day of March A.D. 1781 Before me John Arndt Esq^r. Register for the probate of Wills and granting Letters of Administration

in and for the said County of Northampton Personally came, Abraham Berlin, Jacob Berlin and Abraham Berlin Junior, the Witnesses to the within Last Will and Testament of George Taylor Esquire deceased who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelist of Almighty God, did declare and say (each speaking for himself) that they were present, and saw and heard, George Taylor the Testator sign seal Publish pronounce and declare the same as and for his Last Will & Testament, and that at the doing thereof he the said Testator was of sound mind memory and understanding to the Best of their Knowledge & Belief And also that they these deponants subscribed their names to the same as Witnesses in the presence and at the request of the said Testator and in the presence of one another. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand the day aforesaid

John Arndt
Regr.

ADDENDA AND CORRECTIONS TO PAINTINGS BY GILBERT STUART. NOT NOTED IN MASON'S LIFE OF STUART.

BY MANTLE FIELDING.

In the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography for July 1914, was published a list of one hundred and forty-seven portraits that were not included in the "Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart" by George C. Mason.

I realized that the list would have to be subject to more or less revision, as a number of the portraits noted were open to question and criticism, the article being prepared more for the help and study of collectors than as an attempt at a complete catalogue of Stuart's paintings. Since the list of portraits was published several corrections have been noted as well as about thirty-five additions, as follows:

Barre, Col. Isaac (1726–1802).
No. 8, noted on list as a replica of the portrait in National Portrait Gallery, London, is a different portrait.

Boydell, Josiah.
(Brother or nephew of John Boydell.)

Brant, Joseph
Chief of the Mohawks.
Owned by the Duke of Northumberland.
Another of Brant is owned by John Symonds, Esq., of Reading, Eng^{d}.

Brown, Moses (1748–1820).
Owned by Frank Bulkeley Smith of Worcester, Mass.
N. B. This is not the portrait noted in Mason's book.

Chesnut, John (1743–1818), No. 28.
Owned by Herbert L. Pratt, N. Y.
Twilled canvas, 24″ x 29″. Half length, three-quarters to left, with arms folded. Black coat. Crimson curtain background.

Colburn, Mrs. James Smith (1790–1836).
Owned by Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Connor, James.
Exhibited at the Ehrich Gallery, N. Y., 1917.

Clonmell, John, First Earl of (1739–1798).
(Not Clonnel as No. 31 on list.)

Cooper, Sir Ashley, Sixth Earl of Shafterbury (1768–1851).
Half length, seated by table, head directed to right (No. 34).
Painted in Phila., 1799, while here on diplomatic business.
Property of Toledo Museum, Toledo, Ohio.
Note: Not the portrait of Sir Ashley Paston Cooper, 1768–1841, celebrated English Surgeon.

Dawes, William, No. 39.
Not the work of Stuart, but of John Johnston (1752–1818).

Derby, Elias Hasket, No. 41. Elias Hasket Derby, Jr.
Not the work of Stuart, but of James Frothingham.

Facius, George S. (Engraver), 1750.
Owned by William S. Appleton, Boston.

Francis, Thomas Willing (1767–1815).
Son of Tench and Ann Willing Francis.
Canvas 24″ x 29″. Bust facing left.
Owned by John F. Braun of Phila.

Gilmor, Mr. (Of Baltimore).
Owned by Est. of Mrs. Jas. T. Fields, Boston.
Note: Not the same man as noted by Mason, probably a nephew.

Heard, John (1744–1834).
Of Ipswich, Mass.
Owned by John Heard, Esq., of Ipswich, Mass.

Hood, John Willet.
Rear Admiral of the Blue.
Canvas 42″ x 24″.
Owned by Herbert L. Pratt.

Law, Thomas (1756–1834).
Bust head to left, high coat collar and frill.
Note: Married Eliza Parke Custis, whose portrait is noted by Mason.
Both pictures now owned by Herbert L. Pratt, N. Y.

Liston, Lady.
Wife of Sir Robert Liston, British Minister to the United States.
Note. In Mason's life of Stuart the portrait of Sir Robert Liston is noted, but no mention is made of his wife's portrait. Both these portraits have been called Raeburn's and are listed as such in Sir Walter Armstrong's book, but have recently been positively identified as the work of Gilbert Stuart.

McKenzie, Sir Alexander (1755–1820).
Celebrated Scotch Traveler.
Owned by Herbert L. Pratt.

Montgomery, William.
Bust, head to right, blue coat.

Montgomery, Mrs. Wm.
Bust, head to left.

Miller, William (1740?–1810?).
Painted for Boydell.

Pasquin Anthony, No. 99.
Not the work of Stuart, but of Mather Brown.

Purviance, Mrs. William Young.
The original by Stuart has been lost sight of, but a copy of his portrait by Jane Stuart is owned by a granddaughter of Mrs. Purviance.

Porter, William Lamb.
Panel size 26¼" x 20⅞".
Owned by Miss Rose Lamb, Boston.

Stow, Edward (1768–1847).
Of Boston. Panel size 29½" x 23½".
Owned by Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Stow, Mrs. Edward (Anna Brewer Peck), 1771–1835.
Of Boston. Panel 29½" x 23½". Signed "G. S."
Owned by Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Sutcliffe, Mr.
Exhibited at Ehrich Gallery, N. Y., 1917.
Canvas 29" x 24".

Thacher, Rev. Samuel Cooper (b 1785–d 1819).
Painted about 1815. Panel.
Exhibited at the Ehrich Gallery, N. Y., 1917, as by Stuart, but is probably by Gilbert Stuart Newton.

Tingey, Captain Thomas (1750–1829).
Half length, seated nearly full face. In naval uniform, coat with high collar, gold braid and brass buttons, white waistcoat and trousers. On canvas.
Owned by Captain Thomas Craven, U. S. N.

Wager, Mr. and Mrs. Philip R.
On panels. Mr. Wager's portrait 28½" x 23½". Mrs. Wager's the same. Mrs. Wager was Hannah Wirtz and both portraits were painted in Germantown.
Owned by Charles E. Brown, Lake Forest, Ill.

Ward, James (1769–1859), at the age of ten.
Painter, and brother of William Ward. Full length, with hand on dog's head. This portrait is noted as No. 147 on my list as unknown, and has been purchased by the Minneapolis Museum. Canvas 29⅛" x 24½". The portrait was exhibited at the Royal Academy by Stuart in 1779 and called "A Portrait of a Young Gentleman." Signed "G. C. Stuart 1779" and "J. Ward" on dog's collar.

Washington, Martha.
Canvas 28 7/16" x 23". A sketch of head, with only the face finished, the caps and white muslin *fichu* being merely suggested.
Owned by Alex. Smith Cochran, Esq., and deposited in Phillipse Manor House, Yonkers, New York.

Webbe, Mr. George.
County Donegal, Ireland.
Canvas 28½" x 24⅛". Bust, head to the left.
Exhibited at the Ehrich Gallery, N. Y., 1917.

Webbe, Sr., Mr.
County Donegal, Ireland.
Canvas 29¼″ x 24¼″.
Exhibited at the Ehrich Gallery, N. Y., 1917.

Webb, Sr., Mrs.
Canvas 32″ x 27″.
National Gallery, Dublin.

Whichcote, Lady Diana (d. 1827).
Owned by Mrs. Benjamin Thaw, Newport.

Williamson, William.
Of South Carolina, an officer in the Colonial Assembly.
Half length, face slightly to right. Canvas 29¼″ x 24¼″.
Owned by Mrs. Gustav Radeke of Providence, R. I.

Unknown Man.
Canvas. Seated nearly front, with arms crossed on breast; powdered hair, white neckcloth and shirt ruffles, and grayish-lavender coat.
Owned by Sir Claude Phillips, London.
Reproduced as frontispiece to Burlington Magazine for Jan. 1917.

Unknown Lady.
Canvas. Head of woman in middle life. Hair parted on forehead, with small curls over ears. A white ruffle or ruching is vaguely indicated about the neck.
Owned by Samuel P. Avery, Esq., Hartford, Conn.

Unknown Man.
Unfinished head of a young man. Canvas 24″ x 20″.
Wadsworth, Athenaeum, Hartford, Conn.

Unknown Lady.
Panel 28¼″ x 23¼″. Unfinished head, turned to the left. Grayish-white cap with brown hair. A white *fichu* is suggested.
Owned by Mrs. Ward Thoron, Boston.
Exhibited at Museum of Fine Arts in 1880 and 1915, and at Copley Hall, Boston, in 1895.

Head of Boy.
Canvas 18″ x 15″. Boy of about 3 or 4 years of age. Dark brown eyes and light brown hair. Unfinished.
Owned by Charles Pelham Curtis, Esq., Boston.

Portrait of a Gentleman.
Panel 29″ x 23¼″. Bust to left, black coat, white neckcloth tied in a bow, yellowish sandy hair and sidewhiskers, blue eyes. Plump, oval head, plain background.

Portrait of a Lady (wife of above).
Panel 28″ x 23¼″. Bust to right. Low-necked white dress trimmed with white lace; body enveloped in a light brownish-yellow shawl with black figures and figured border; dark brown curly hair, parted, with long ringlets over eyes; brown eyes. Plain background.
These two portraits are owned by Mrs. Wm. Payne Thompson (who was Miss Edith Blight of Phila.) of "Longfield's," Westbury, Long Island.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

Two Bills of Baron von Steuben.

December 2nd 1783
Barren Stuben

To Saml. Frauncis Dr.

To An Entertainment	£30	"	"
To 32 Bottles of Mads at 8/	12	16	"
To 6 Ditto of Claret at 10/	3	"	"
To 5 Ditto of Port at 6/	1	5	"
To Punch 52/ Porter 33/ Spruce 7/	4	12	"
To Lights 32/ Dezert 81/	5	13	"
3rd, To 2 Dinner Clubs at 14/	1	8	"
4th, To Servt. Dinner 8/ Drinks 4/	"	12	"
	£59	6	"

148¼ Dollars

The account was paid December 6, 1783.

The Honl. Baron Steuben
To J Mc.Lean & Co. Dr.

1784
Octr. 24 To printing 200 Pamplets, on the Subject of a Military establishment, on the best Writing Post Sewed in Marble Paper & Gilt round the Edges } £20,0.0.

New York 10th October 1785 Recd the above in full
by a Draft on William Duer Esqr
For J McLean & Co.
Cholmley Douglas.

£20.0.0.

Battles of Bunker Hill and Monmouth.—The following references to the Battles of Bunker Hill and Monmouth extracted from the diary of George Inman, February 7, 1782—January 31, 1789, contain additional details than are given in "George Inman's Narrative of the American Revolution," Penna. Mag. Hist. and Biog., Vol VII, p. 237.
G. B. K.

June 28, 1785. "This day seven years ago memorable for the action at Monmouth, Jersey, America, wherein near 60 of the British soldiers fell dead in the ranks with heat and fatigue, and many of the Rebels. The action began about ten in the morning and continued with various success, marching, counter-marching, and manoeuvring during most of the day, which was excessive hot—no water to be got, the Rebels having in their march filled up all the wells. The baggage being attacked by a party of the Rebels in a thick wood about five miles from where I was engaged, Mrs. Inman being in a coach in the line of baggage and that part which was attacked very narrowly escaped being shot; a horse directly in the rear of the carriages was killed, and two women by the side of it. But my dear Mrs I, thank God, was preserved, and, after suffering as much as any person could, what from

fright, fatigue and anxiety for my safety, got to the halting ground about one o'clock the following morning and remained in the coach till nine, when I came up and pitched a tent for her, and, getting some breakfast, restored her drooping spirits. We proceeded toward Sandy Hook the following evening, and in a few days after arrived safe at New York, to the greatest satisfaction of both.

June 29, 1785.. This day seven years ago my commission was signed for the 26th Regiment.

June 17, 1785.—"Just ten years since the battle of Bunker Hill near Boston, America. On that memorable occasion I first took upon myself the name of a soldier, contrary to the wishes of my father and friends in that country, as I acted in favour of Government and joined His Majesty's forces in that action as a volunteer, under Sir William Howe, who commanded the attack, with about 2000 men, out of which number near eleven hundred non-commissioned officers and privates were killed and wounded and about eighty officers; the loss of the Rebels very inconsiderable, only about 100 found on the field, among these was General Warren, who commanded the first redoubt (late a surgeon in Boston),* and about 30 taken prisoners, and confined in Boston goal. Charlestown was consumed to ashes, owing to the Rebels firing from their houses on the British forces who made the attack under every disadvantage. The grass being high impeded their march, the day hot, and the Rebels strongly intrenched line within line. And in short it was a gallant action which could not have been effected by any other than British troops."

THE FIRST WAR MEDAL IN AMERICA, ISSUED BY NEW JERSEY.—Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey, of Trenton, N. J., says: "It is not generally known that New Jersey was the first of the English Colonies to recognize the valor of its soldiers by conferring the War Medal upon its men for gallantry in action. The incident in question occurred on June 14, 1758, when our troops were engaged against the Indians on the northwest frontiers of the Colony, and which is related by Captain Jonathan Hampton in a letter published in Volume 20 of the New Jersey Archives at page 241. In consequence of this communication the General Assembly of the Colony of New Jersey directed, in Section 21 of an Act passed August 12, 1758, that a 'Silver Medal' should be presented to Sergeant John Vantyle and a lad surnamed Titsort, 'whereon shall be inscribed the Burst or Figure of an Indian prostrate at the Feet of the said Vantyle and Lad aforesaid, importing their Victory over them, and to commemorate their Bravery and their Country's Gratitude on the Occasion, which Medals, the said Vantyle and Lad aforesaid, shall or may wear in View at all such publick Occasions which they may happen to attend, to excite an Emulation and kindle a martial Fire in the Breast of the Spectators, so truly essential in this Time of General War.'

"Neither of these two medals are known to exist. In speaking of the incident, and quoting the section of the act above referred to, *The New York Mercury* on October 2, 1758, said: 'In an Act of the General Assembly of the Province of New-Jersey, passed the 12th of last August at Burlington, we find the following remarkable Paragraph, which we think can't be disagreeable to our Readers to insert here, as it must please every true Lover of his Country.'"

---

* Dr. John Jeffries, of Boston, surgeon on a British ship-of-the-line in Boston harbor, assisted in dressing the wounded after the battle of Bunker Hill, and it is said, identified the body of Gen. Warren in the presence of Sir William Howe.

ACCOUNT OF JAMES BRADFORD AT PRINCETON COLLEGE.

1770			£	Sh.	d.
			Dr.		
Feb.	8	To one quarter Tuition	1	5	0
May	8	To 1 Dº.	1	5	0
		To 1 Quarter pens Ink & paper &c		7	6
	16	To 1 Grammar		3	0
June	4	To 1 Vocabulary	0	1	1
	9	To a Penknife	0	1	8
		To the School fires	0	10	0
	27	To 1 Coles Dictionary	0	14	0
July	7	To Cash	0	0	9
	9	To Dº.	0	0	6
	20	To Cash for an Inkhorn	0	1	6
	26	To Cash	0	0	5
Aug.	8	To 1 Quarters Tuition	1	5	0
		To furnishing 1 Quarters Pens &c.	0	7	6
	22	To Cash	0	0	3
		To the Servant for putting on the fires	0	2	0
	28	To Cash	0	0	2
Septr.	13	To Dº.	0	0	2
	19	To Grammatical Exercises	0	2	6
	27	To Cash on his going to New York	0	10	0
Nov.	8	To 1 Quarter Tuition & furnishing	1	12	6
		To Sweeping the School	0	1	6
			8	12	0
		Credit by Cash from Mrs. Davenport	—	10	0
		Ballance	8	2	0

Philadelphia Feb. 21. 1771 Received the Contents
Jno. Witherspoon

NUMBER OF HOUSES IN PHILADELPHIA, 1749, 1753, 1760 AND 1769.—The Houses in the City of Philadelphia and its Suburbs, having been counted at the following Periods, we beg leave to lay the fame before our kind Cuftomers.

	Houfes
In the Year 1749 they amounted to	2076
1753	2300
1760	2969

And in December, 1769, they amounted as follows, *exclufive of Public Buildings, Stores, Work-fhops, &c.*—

Mulberry Ward	920	
Upper Delaware Ward	234	
North Ward	417	
High-ftreet Ward	166	
Middle Ward	358	
Cheftnut Ward	112	
South Ward	147	
Walnut Ward	105	
Lower Delaware Ward	120	
Dock Ward	739	
		3318
Northern Liberties or Northern Suburbs, to Second-ftreet Bridge, at Stacy's Run		553
Southwark or Southern Suburbs, to Northfide of Love-Lane		603
Total		4474

LETTER OF JOHN P. BOYD TO HIS SISTER, MRS. MARGARET STORER.

Camp 2 miles above Cornwall
Canada Nov 12. 1813—

My Dear Sister

A Battle was fought yesterday in which your Brother bore a principal part and trusts, in the approbation of his Country, It was the most inveterate contest, perhaps recorded by the American Army.

I lead into the field 1500 men without Artillery untill the latter part of the affair, The Enemy were not less than 1800 regulars. their number of militia, and Indians not counted,—well supplied with Artillery. Supported by the heavy cannon of 9 gunboats, yet we drove them from ravine to ravine, untill they found shelter under the enfilading destruction of their Gunboats.

My duty being accomplished a retrograde move became necessary, and we resumed our former position to cover the flotilla. By this move we had to cross a deep ravine, by a narrow bridge enfiladed by the numerous artillery and Gunboats by which we lost one piece of artillery which had been brought into the field, late in the action, and several of our wounded officers, among whom I have to lament the gallant young Townsend who lost a leg; our division had been under arms two days & nights, encountering incessant rains without tents, yet they have never been equalled in zeal & bravery—our loss is great, but we have reason to believe that of the enemy exceeded it, Young Whiting exceeds all praise, he is the most intrepid Soldier I ever saw in battle, Heaven has spared your Brother to say he is

Yours affectionately,

N.B. John P. Boyd.

The Battle was fought at Williamsburg 20 miles above this. This scrawl is for the *private* perusal of my Brothers & Sisters.

J. P. B.

Book Notices.

THE TRUE LA FAYETTE. By George Morgan. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1919. 8vo, pp. 489. Illustrated. Price $2.50 net.

American books about La Fayette are few and far between. Mr. Tower's important work covers his campaigns in the United States, but in this new life the author presents his character and career from birth to death, for his life was one of action, and his one great creed, Liberty. At nineteen he left a young wife, riches, honors and court gayeties in order that he might help us in our struggle for independence, and he was helpful in bringing about the French Alliance; then we read of his prolonged efforts to overthrow the despotism in France; his escape from the guillotine; his five years' imprisonment; his independent stand against Napoleon; his great American tour of 1824–25; and his last restful days at Lagrange. Hardly less interesting is the story also told of the devotion of Mme. de La Fayette during her husband's years of trial. The True La Fayette will make Americans feel proud and grateful.

THE DEGRADATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC DOGMA. By Henry Adams, with an Introduction by Brooks Adams. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1919. 8vo, pp. 317. Price $2.50.

This new book is a record of the gathering of data in the department of human government by three generations of America's most distinguished thinkers, whose lives cover almost the entire period of the American experiment. Here are included three brilliant essays—expressing and emphasizing the creed which has become the heritage of Henry Adams. The result may be summed up in this remarkable conclusion: *Vox populi non est vox Dei.* As in physics, so also in mind

and administration. The theory of averages leads ever to a lower level The perfect plebiscite, the democratic ideal, is the synonym not of perfect truth but of disaster and confusion.

EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK FROM 1777 TO 1850. By Elsie Garland Hobson. x + 268 pp. 8vo, net $1.60.

This volume is the first of an important series dealing with the origin and development of American Public School systems. Few subjects if any have greater general social interest than the American system of public free education, especially at the present time when far-reaching plans are being formulated for reconstruction in this field. It is to be followed by others of a series and marks the first attempt to set forth adequately the legislation of individual States with the purpose of indicating every act bearing on education passed within the period under consideration.

The present work is divided into eight chapters having the following titles: *Formative Influences, The Origin and Development of the Dual System of School Control in 1820, Education under the Regents, The Common School System, Special Legislation for Cities, Support of Education, Education of Special Classes, Summary and Conclusions.* The Appendices give a chronological list of all academies incorporated by the State and regents, a list of acts granting means of support to academies, a list of societies for general educational purposes, and a chronological list of titles and dates of all laws relating to education from 1777 to 1850.

GERMANY IN THE WAR AND AFTER. By Vernon Kellogg. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1919. 8vo, pp. 101. Price $1.00.

The author of this work was for a number of years connected with the American Relief Administration in Europe, and had opportunities for personal acquaintanceship with Germans and German conditions during all of that time. All of the chapters in the book except the last one were written after the Armistice but before the signing of the Treaty.

Contents: The German army; German control of Germans; What the blockade did to food; Other inside difficulties during the war; How the people were deceived; What the Germans thought during the war and Armistice, and Germany now and tomorrow.

JACKSON'S PHILADELPHIA YEAR BOOK FOR 1920. Philadelphia, 1920. Pp. 269.

Jackson's Philadelphia Year Book for 1920–21, improved and enlarged, represents an immense amount of research, arranged in a popular way, to study the history of the city. The alphabetical arrangement and cross reference system makes it handy to consult. The data assembled is very readable and instructive, and a wide distribution should reward the compiler's effort.

THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR. By Roland G. Usher, Ph.D. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1919. 8vo, pp. 350. Price $2.50.

This is a compact, effective and comprehensive history of the war, in which the average reader will take a keen interest and enjoyment, for its straight-forward style, lively narrative portions and vivid explanations. Its arrangement is particularly clear, with separate sections on the personalities of the war, certain phases of modern warfare, and the strategy of the various campaigns. Professor Usher's former publications will be remembered as especially fitting him for this sort of writing. There are numerous illustrations, including official photographs, battle plans, diagrams, etc.

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BOUND VOLUMES OF THE MAGAZINE.

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PRINTED BY PATTERSON & WHITE CO.

HIS EXCELLENCY

COLONEL WILLIAM DENNY

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA. &C.

BORN 1709 DIED 1765

FROM THE PAINTING BY GEORGE KNAPTON, 1744
IN THE COLLECTION OF THE SOCIETY OF DILETTANTI, LONDON

THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

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VOL. XLIV. 1920. No. 2.

MEMOIR OF HIS EXCELLENCY COLONEL WILLIAM DENNY, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, ETC.

BY REV. H. L. L. DENNY, M.A., F.S.G.,
St. Mark's Vicarage, 66 Myddelton Square, London, England.

Colonel William Denny belonged to an ancient East-Anglian family, which could claim kinship with some of those who, in "the spacious days of great Elizabeth," played a chief part in laying the foundations of the Anglo-Saxon empires beyond the seas, "men whose names ring across the ages like a trumpet-blast in the ears of Englishmen"—and, indeed, of all the members of the English-speaking peoples—"to this day."[1] He was the son of the Rev. Hill Denny, whose

[1] "*Sir Walter Raleigh*," by Martin A. S. Hume. Raleigh was the first adventurer to plant a colony on the shores of Pennsylvania. His step-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, is said to have been the first to sail from England on a colonizing expedition to America, in 1583 (E. S. Payne's "*Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen to America*"). Amongst the Denny family pictures there are portraits of Joan, Lady Denny, aunt of Raleigh and Gilbert, of their first-cousin, Sir Edward Denny, and of Raleigh's kinswoman, Margaret, Lady Denny, the two first displaying a strong likeness to Raleigh. It was for reinforcements under the command of Sir Edward Denny that Lord Thomas Howard was waiting, at Flores in the Azores, when there took place the famous fight, "one against fifty-three," of Sir Richard Grenville (Raleigh's cousin), described by Raleigh and in Tennyson's "The Revenge." Sir Edward sailed with Raleigh and Gilbert, and did good service at the time of the Spanish Armada.

portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller shows him as "a pretty boy" of some sixteen summers, which age he would have attained in 1694. Hill Denny was educated at Sidney College, Cambridge, graduating B.A. in 1698 and M.A. in 1707. He became Rector of Gilston and of Eastwick, Hertfordshire, in 1705, and also of Little Parndon, Essex, in 1710, which livings he held up to the time of his death. He was buried at Little Parndon, March 31, 1719.

Hill Denny married, at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, October 29, 1702, Abigail Berners, then aged nineteen, daughter of James Berners, Esq. (died 1692) and Mary, his wife, of Much Hadham, Hertfordshire.

William Denny, who was born March 9, 1709, and baptised at Eastwick the same day, was the only surviving son of the marriage. To him his father left all his free and copyhold lands, tenements, etc., in the parishes of Great Waltham, Essex, and Spaldwick, Barham, Easton and Stow, Hunts, and all his estate and goods. The latter would have included the following interesting articles, known as "The Royal Presents to the Dennys":—a pair of gloves, with great gauntlets worked with pearls and gold, given by Henry VIII to Sir Anthony Denny; a pair of gloves given by James I to Edward Denny, Earl of Norwich; a pair of velvet gloves or mittens given by Queen Elizabeth to Margaret, Lady Denny[1]; the scarf, about eight feet long

[1] Other descendants of Margaret, Lady Denny, have inherited from her other Royal presents, viz.: a large silver urn cup, a fan, etc., given by Queen Elizabeth, a Bible bound in richly embroidered green satin, given by James I, and a letter of protection, in his own hand-writing, which Charles I gave Lady Denny when he visited her at her manor-house at Bishops Stortford during the Civil War. The old manor-house of Bishops Stortford still stands, very much the same, internally, as it was in the days of its builder, the Hon. Margaret, Lady Denny, who, before her death in 1648, aged eighty-eight years and in the forty-eighth year of her widowhood, was "probably the sole survivor of that brilliant ring of fair women and brave men which encircled the throne of the last of the Tudors." The set of horse furniture, in

and four broad, richly embroidered in colours, which Charles I wore at Edgehill, where he presented it to Adam Hill,[3] (Hill Denny's grandfather) who had preserved the King's life by gallantly rallying his troop of horse at a critical moment in the battle.[4] William Denny must have given or sold these to the Earl of Arran, at the sale of whose collection in 1759 they were bought by Sir Thomas Denny of Tralee Castle, then head of the family, for nearly £100.[5] They were accompanied by an account of them, written by Hill Denny, and a Patent granting a pension to Adam Hill, who had been a Page to James I, for his life and that of his wife.

William Denny, whose education had been entrusted under his father's will to the Rev. Edward Hinton and the Rev. Joseph Harvey, matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, at the age of seventeen, May 24, 1726, and graduated B.A. January 20, 1730. It is probable that on leaving the University he travelled for some time on the Continent, doing the "grand tour" after the fashion of the day. In 1734 some gentlemen who had travelled in Italy formed themselves into a society for encouraging at home the taste for those artistic objects which had contributed so greatly to their enjoyment abroad. Ultimately, in December 1735, they founded the Society of Dilettanti, which did so much towards awakening interest in the arts of the ancients. The name of William Denny occurs in the first entry in the Minute Books, and many times subsequently.[6] It was

velvet and gold, which Margaret Edgcumbe used when she accompanied her Royal mistress on her progresses, is in possession of the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe. The chancel of Bishops Stortford Church is full of Denny monuments and shields of arms.

[3] Rowland Hill, originator of the penny post, was of Adam Hill's family, "the Hills of Ternhill." Adam Hill had a brother Rowland.

[4] King George IV borrowed this scarf from Sir Edward Denny, 3rd Bt., in order to have made a china table-service adorned with its pattern at Chamberlain's factory, Worcester.

[5] See Disraeli's *"Curiosities of Literature,"* under "Gloves."

[6] *"Historical Notices of the Society of Dilettanti."*

probably at one of the meetings of the preliminary society, in January 1735, that he was, with some other gentlemen (including Lord Middlesex, Lord John Murrey, Lord Boyne, Lord Harcourt, and Sir James Grey), the victim of a murderous assault in "The Golden Lion," in Suffolk Street, London. The cause of this "Suffolk Street riot" and the details are obscure, but it "made much noise" at the time, so much so that an engraving was produced of it.[7]

As was customary for the members, William Denny presented the Society of Dilettanti with a portrait of himself, in Roman dress, by George Knapton, 1744. This painting now hangs in the Society's collection at the Grafton Galleries, London.[8] William Denny had entered the army at this time, and it is possible that he served at Dettingen in 1743 and against "the Young Pretender" in "the '45."

In a will, dated 1743, Sir Thomas Denny of Tralee Castle leaves his estates in remainder to his "dearly beloved cousin William Denny, of Cheshunt, Herts,[9] now or lately a Cornet in the Duke of Montague's Regiment of Horse." In a subsequent will, dated 1746, Sir Thomas appoints "Captain William Denny of Cheshunt" guardian of his children.

Lord Middlesex[10] and the Rev. Dr. Ayscough[11] cor-

---

[7] Montagu of Beaulieu Mss., p. 202, Dartmouth Mss., 1735, Fortescue Mss., p. 202 (Historical Mss. Commission's Reports). The "copperplate of the company in this style" cannot be traced in the Print Room of the British Museum.

[8] This portrait of Col. Denny is reproduced herewith (from a photograph of D. Macbeth, 17, Fleet Street, London) by the courteous permission of the Society of Dilettanti.

[9] William Denny's residence at this time may have been "The Great House," a remarkable Tudor edifice, which still stands on the outskirts of the town of Cheshunt. Built and occupied by Cardinal Wolsey, it was granted, after his fall, by Henry VIII to Sir Thomas Denny of Cheshunt, brother of the Right Hon. Sir Anthony Denny.

[10] Afterwards Duke of Dorset.

[11] Tutor to Prince George, afterwards King George III.

responded with William Denny, apparently about some political matters upon which he and they were engaged, in 1747.[12]

In May, 1756,[13] William Denny was appointed to the position of Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania. On May 17 King George II in Council approved of his appointment, upon the nomination of Thomas and Richard Penn, Esquires, Proprietaries of the Province,[14] and the next day William Denny was created a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, for "America only."[15] William Denny, sailed from Plymouth, England, on the ship-of-war Stirling Castle, 70 guns, Capt. Cornish, convoy to thirteen transports, to succeed Robert Hunter Morris, as Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, and after an uneventful voyage, arrived at New York, August 16, 1756.

Preparatory to sailing for America, he wrote the following letter to Thomas Penn, Esq.:

Sir

I have had the pleasure of receiving yours of the 29th inst. with the inclosed to Mr Hockley. The wind is South East, and the transports are expected round. I am told it is probable, we shall not sail till some days after their arrival here, and it is to be hoped, the ship with the cannon will be time enough to have the benefit of the convoy.

Mr Aiskil will be so good as to desire Mr Barclay to pay the carriage of my goods by water from Oxfordshire, and the carts & cæ The same Gentlemen will please to insure some things I have here for £400, such as plate, cloaths, linnen &cæ. I shall take them on board the Sterling Castle with me. I could wish the furniture from Oxfordshire, and the goods brought by Mr Farmbrough from Brook Street were also insured for £800 more.

---

[12] Fortescue Mss., Historical Mss. Commission Report, XIX, p. 117.

[13] In this month began the Seven Years War, in which George Washington gained his military experience.

[14] *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The London Magazine*, 1756. *The Acts of the Privy Council*" contains references to "the Hon. William Denny, Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania."

[15] The Army List, 1760–65.

Excuse my giving you this trouble. With my compliments to Lady Juliana, I am

Sir,
Your very affectionate friend
and most obedient
humble servant
William Denny

Portsmouth
June 1st
1756 I have received your Brother's letters.
To
Thomas Penn Esq.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Thursday, August 26th., prints the following account of the reception and ceremonies accorded him, on his arrival at Philadelphia: "On Thursday last [19th.] a number of Gentlemen set out from this City in order to meet the Honorable William Denny Esq. our new Governor, on his journey here from New York. They met him at Trenton and were received by him in a very genteel manner. The next morning [20th.,] he set off for Bristol, where Mr. Morris our late Governor, the Council and other Gentlemen were waiting for him. After a short Stay there, his Honor and the Company proceeded on their way to Town, and was received near the line of this County by Colonel Douché of the Philadelphia County Regiment, with his Officers and a Company of Grenadiers, who escorted him from thence to the City. When they came near Frankford, they were joined by Part of the Troop of Horse, and Company of Independents, and a great number of the Inhabitants of the place.

"Before the Governor entered the Town, as many of the City Regiments, as the shortness of the Notice would admit of, were got together and drawn up in Second street, near the Church, where they received him with raised Firelocks, and the Officers gave him the proper Salutes. He then went to his House [on South Second street], and staid there some Time, during which the Regiment was drawn up on both Sides of Market street

from the Court House to the corner of Front street, the Artillery Company betwixt Market and Water streets; the Grenadiers of the Philadelphia County Regiment on Second street betwixt the Court House and the Church, and the Horse and Independents about the Court House.

"His Honor then came to the Court House accompanied by our late Governor, the members of Council, and many other Gentlemen, when his Commission was read; after which the Guns of the Associate Battery, of the Artillery Company, of the Privateer Denny, and some other Vessels were fired off; the City Regiments made three General Discharges; the Vessels in the Harbour shewed their Colors; the Bells were set a Ringing; Bonfires were lytted; and a general Joy appeared in the countenances of People of all Denominations.

"The next day [Saturday, 21st.] his Honour and many of the principal Inhabitants, were genteely entertained by the Corporation of the City at the Lodge Room [Masonic Lodge, in Lodge Alley], and on Monday [23rd.] a handsome Dinner was provided by the Assembly at the State House. [Cost £100.13.6.], at which were present His Honour the Governor, the Officers Civic and Military in the City, the Clergy, and Sundry Gentlemen Strangers.

"Yesterday [Wednesday, 25th.] His Honour the Governor set out for New Castle, in order to have his Commission for that Government published. He was accompanied by our late Governor, with sundry other Gentlemen, and escorted out of Town by the Colonel and Militia Officers of this City."

Governor Denny also received "Addresses from the General Assembly, through Isaac Norris, Speaker, Mayor William Plumsted, on behalf of the City Corporations; Provost William Smith for the College and Academy; Pastors, Elders, and members of the English

Presbyterian Churches in Philadelphia; Monthly Meetings of Friends, through James Pemberton, Clerk; Benjamin Franklin, in behalf of the Managers and Treasurer of the Pennsylvania Hospital; Officers of Col. Jacob Duche's Regiment; Col. Benjamin Franklin for his Regiment and Company of Artillery; and the Officers of the Troops and other associated Companies: to all of which he made replies.

On January 26, 1757 he wrote from Philadelphia to Mrs. Abigail Edwin (daughter of Sir Roger Hill) his wife's aunt, as follows:—

"I have had full employment since my arrival here. . . . They [the people in Pennsylvania] are divided into parties, violent and obstinate beyond imagination. . . . Business has given me leave to make some excursions this Autumn to the frontiers, and I have travelled between four and five hundred miles. It was my duty to visit the Forts, and put them in the best posture of defence, to review the Provincial troops, and to encourage the inhabitants to take arms in order to defend themselves and all that is dear to them. I also assisted at an Indian Treaty, where the foundation was laid of making a large body of the enemies become our friends. The King, Queen, and all the Royal family with their Councillors left us in good humor; they were loaded with presents. The Queen was at a distance in this province when I came, and, Mrs Denny will smile to hear, she sent love to me on my arrival, and that she would come and see me when her husband had returned from a journey he had taken into the Indian country.

This great Province, or rather little Kingdom, is very fertile and well watered. There is too much wood. The extent of the Colony is at least 200 miles square, not reckoning the three lower Counties, who have an Assembly of their own, but the same Governor.

Philadelphia is a fine city, situate in the centre of the British Dominions on this Continent, and is built on the west side of the river Delaware, a mile and a half in length and half a mile in the greatest breadth. There are about 2500 houses, and near 18,000 inhabitants. An elderly lady is still living who remembers the building of the first house, and we have no modern instance of a great city being built in so short a time, except Petersburgh. The public edifices are much beyond what might be expected. The great and cross streets are all straight and there is a convenient brick pavement on each side of the way for those who walk on foot. The river near a mile broad and navigable for ships of 5 or 600 tons."[16]

[16] This letter and others concerning the Dennys, including one from Richard Hockley, Keeper of the Great Seal under Governor Denny, are in possession of Col. B. I. Way, of Denham Place.

At the instance of the Proprietors, in October of 1759, Gov. Denny was recalled.

William Denny's large armorial book-plate—a rare and interesting specimen of its kind—has been claimed as being American, so that copies are probably extant in the United States.

In 1761–64 Col. Denny was serving on various committees of the Society of Dilettanti.

William Denny married (but when and where have not been ascertained), Mary, only daughter of William Hill, second son of Sir Roger Hill of Denham Place, Bucks.[17] By her, who remarried in 1769 a Mr. Corbyn, of Pinner, Middlesex, he apparently had no issue.

Colonel Denny died, aged fifty-six, in the latter part of 1765.[18]

His will, dated May 25, 1765, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury,[19] January 16, 1766, by the executors named, William Berners of Woolverstone Hall, Suffolk, and Henry Berners of Sackville Street, St. James's, London. He is described in it as "William Denny, now of Saint James' in the Liberty of Westminister, Esquire." He mentions messauges, etc., in the Province of Pennsylvania. To Willam Denny of Tralee Castle, (son and heir of Sir Thomas Denny, and probably Col. Denny's godson) he leaves fifty guineas and all the portraits of his family;[20] to William Berners all

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[17] Burke's "*Landed Gentry*," 1849, p. 1540, under the family of Way of Denham. There is a letter at Denham Place from Thomas Penn to Lewis Way, informing him that Mrs. Denny had sailed from England to join her husband in Pennsylvania.

[18] There is apparently no record of his burial in the registers of those parishes in which one would expect to find it—St. James's, Piccadilly, St. George's, Hanover Square, or St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London.

[19] Reference "10, Tyndall."

[20] These Denny portraits, or some of them, were pictures by Sir Godfrey Kneller of Peter and Anne Denny and their son Hill. The picture of Hill Denny was presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, by the late Sir Edward Denny, Bt., in 1882. Shortly before Sir Edward's death, in 1889, the portraits of Peter and Anne Denny

the portraits of his family. Witnesses—Jno. Jackson, Jno. Smith, Fras. Isaack.

In *The Pennsylvania Gazette,* October 25, 1770, an advertisement appeared of the sale at Public Vendue, at the London Coffee House, Philadelphia, of the country seat of Col. Denny, near the Falls of Schuylkill, containing forty-four acres and a good dwelling-house, stable for six horses, etc, the executor being Joseph Galloway, a well-known Loyalist of Pennsylvania.

As no review of Governor Denny's administration in Pennsylvania was contemplated in the preparation of this memoir, at the suggestion of the writer, the following letters selected from the "Penn Papers," in the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, have been added. The Society has also a copy of "The Address of the Trustees and Treasurer of the Friendly Association for regaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures," signed by Abel James, Clerk, and dated "the 14th of the Seventh Month 1757, to the Governor. Some account of the controversy between the Governor and the Assembly, by William Franklin, will be found in the "Gentleman's Magazine" of September 1757, Vol. XXVII pp. 417, 418, 419, 420.

Governor Denny to Thomas Penn.

Philadelphia 4th November 1756

Sir,

I acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 12th July last, Original and Duplicate. The Repeals of the two Acts were, as usual, entered in the Council Book, and sent to the House, to be put on their Minutes, and then, they were published, as you desire, in the Gazette.

I have conferred with Mr Wilson & Mr. Hunt, who are disposed to reconcile all differences, and promote the Publick Service.

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were stolen from his house in London by a person who actually tried soon afterwards to sell them to one of the family. They eventually passed into the hands of a dealer, who sold them to the late Sir Walter Gilbey, and they are now in the possession of the latter's daughter, Mrs. Routledge, of the Chantry, Bishops Stortford, a house which is said to have been partially built by Peter Denny.

I found the Assembly sitting, when I arrived here, which was on the 20th August, and I took the earliest Opportunity, after I had informed myself of the State of the Province to press them to the most vigorous measures for the Defence of the Country, in Consequence of which, they sent me a Message, desiring a Sight of the Proprietary Instructions, relating to the raising of Money, with which, I willingly complied, imagining they would have conformed to them, in the Supply Bills: but I soon found myself mistaken, for they sent me up a Bill granting £60,000, by the usual Excise, which they extended to twenty Years, and after appropriating a very large part, almost the whole Sum, they placed the disposition of the Residue solely in the Assembly; which after Conferences with a Committee of the House, I rejected, declining, agreable to your Instructions any further disputes in Writing and saying, I would give my reasons to his Majesty, for so doing, but as another Bill has been presented for £30,000, and is passed, and an Exemplification thereof sent, by this Conveyance, It may be thought unnecessary to trouble the Ministers with them. The Resolves of the House, which were put into the Gazette without my knowledge, shew you their Temper, with respect to a Land Tax according to your Instructions; and as we could not agree on a method of Taxation, and they were, besides, unwilling, at the close of the Sessions, to grant a general Excise, or Stamp Duty, which I recommended to some of their Members, in a private Conference: Under these Circumstances, there was a necessity for passing this last Act, for Ten Years, the Arrears due to the Troops being above a third of the Money, and if the Payment of these had been deferred, any longer, they were determined to disband themselves, which would have left the Frontiers to the discretion of the Enemy.

Finding a short Vacancy before the time of Meeting of the Assembly, after the General Election of their Numbers, I went to the Frontiers, on the West side of Susquahannah, taking with me an Engineer of the Royal Americans, who had leave to attend me, at my request.

Mr Morris, before my Arrival, had conserted with the Commissioners, an Expedition against an Indian Delaware Town, called Kittannin, situate on the Ohio, the place where resided King Chingas and Captain Jacobs, the two heads of the Deleware Enemy Indians—The Party consisting of Three hundred Men, taken from the Provincial Forces, posted in the several Garrisons on the Western Frontiers, was commanded by Colonel Armstrong, and he having the singular good fortune to make a long March, of One hundred and fifty Miles unobserved by the Enemy Indians, fell upon the Town, by surprise, and burned it and killed Captain Jacobs and several other Principal Indians In the Town were some large Magazines of Goods, Ammunition and Provisions, lately received from the French, which were all consumed in the Fire. the whole is set forth in a Letter, wrote to me by Colonel Armstrong, which is Copied, and put up in the Box, and by which you will see that had it not been for some triffling Accidents, they stood a good Chance to have made a general slaughter of the Indians, and taken

many prisoners, and I must do Colonel Armstrong, who I understand is one of the Proprietary Agents and Surveyors, the Justice to say, he conducted the matters with great skill and Prudence, and his Personal Behaviour deserves the thanks of his Country, the Proprietaries and Government. Fort Shirly was the place of Rendezvous for the Forces, engaged in the Expedition to meet at from the several Posts whence they were draughted. at setting out by order of the Colonel, the Gates were taken off, finding the Fort untenable and of no further use, the Inhabitants of Shurmans Valley, having entirely abandoned their Plantations, for whose Protection it was Built and left it open, without any Garrison, and on the Report of Colonel Armstrong made to me at Carlisle, and with the advice of the Commissioners, I have ordered it to be distroyed, as being at too great a distance from the present Inhabitants, and of no real service, in the Defence of the Frontiers.

The other Forts are ordered to be put on the best footing, the nature of their Situation, and other Circumstances, woud admit of, Wells are directed to be sunk, in every Fort, and Ditches made where it is not Rocky and the blowing with Gunpowder is said to be too expensive. Particularly, at Fort Augusta, a good Ditch Pallisades with a Covered Way and Glacis.

I am going to Easton, to meet the Indians, and, if possible will visit the other Forts, on the East side of Susquehannah, with the same Engineer, and if Business prevents my going, he shall nevertheless be sent.

The Assembly sat on the fourteenth of October, as usual and having received Letters from Lord Loudon, communicating his Majesty's Commands, in several Articles of Expense, relating, as well to the Forces he has been graciously pleased to send for the defence of his American Colonies, as the new Levies, he has ordered to be made to compleat the Royal American Regiment. I recommended to the Assembly, in the strongest Terms to raise the Supplies for the Services demanded; and, tho they have been sitting ever since, I have not received any Supply Bills, from them. The Messages, which have passed between us are sent by this and the east Ship, and will shew these several Matters in their true Light.

As his Majesty has been pleased to commit the Sole management of Indian Affairs, exclusive of his *Governors and Governments*, in these parts, to Sir William Johnson, it is particularly unfortunate that this was not communicated sooner, but as these Indians are actually come, in consequence of an Invitation, made, and measures taken by Governor Morris, I have, by the unanimous advice of the Council and Assembly, to my very great mortification, consented to meet the Indians, tho when I see them I can do no more than give them a good reception, express a general regard for them, advise them to Peaceable measures, with all His Majesty's Subjects, preserve them in their present good dispositions, and refer them to Sir William Johnson, as to any further matters, they shall have to propose.

I wish, I coud say the Assembly was not determined to comply with

your Instructions, relating to a Land Tax. This seems to me, to be the greatest Obstacle, to the Supplies. I have offered to transmit to you, any Proposals, they have, on that Subject, and further hinted your generous gift of £5000, and hoped, they would exempt you, from a Land Tax, for the Currant Year, on *that* Account, and before the Service of the next, this great Affair might be amicably Settled in England, to your and their Satisfaction; but these measures were not complied with. I have since, mentioned to some of them, that a Clause might be inserted in a Land Tax Bill, to defer the Taxing your Estate, this Year, and, when the Method of Taxing shall be adjusted, then, you are to pay your Quota, of this Years Tax, according to the Proportion, that shall be settled, by which means the Rights of neither, are given up, you only incur a debt for such Tax, and the Publick Service will not be impeded, In my Conversation with M^r^ Wilson and M^r^ Hunt, on this Subject, I have communicated to them these Sentiments, and as they appear'd to Concur with me, in Opinion I pressed them to use their Interest that this intricate Affair might be put upon *that* footing.

It is with pain, that I am obliged to inform you, that the Back Inhabitants continue to quit their Plantations, owing to the want of a Militia Law, which, as I have repeatedly pressed on the Assembly, I hope they will offer me such an one as I can pass, with honour, and Justice to the rights of the Crown, tho I am told they will insist on the Peoples Choice of the Officers, or, at least, that they shall be recommended by the Assembly.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient
and most humble servant
William Denny

I shall write to General Napier by the packet, and beg my compliments to Lady Juliana.

Governor Denny to Thomas Penn.

Philadelphia 8^th^ April 1757.

Sir,

I now sit down to give you a regular Detail of what has passed since my last. When I consider this was wrote so long ago as the 4^th^ November, I am afraid you will think me negligent, but really I cou'd have no satisfaction in writing, till I knew the Result of the Assembly in the several Articles laid before them, my measures depending thereon and this was delayed, tho' every Day impatiently expected, till the Embargo took place which deprived me of Opportunities.

I shall first begin with Indian Affairs. The Conferences at Easton, where I was preparing to go at the Time of writing my last Letter, were carried on with all the Care and Dispatch possible, and Copies of the Minutes put on board the Packet on the 25^th^ November, then

ready to sail, but detained by Lord Loudoun till the latter end of December. These no doubt are long ago come to your Hands, and will have afforded you Satisfaction in every Article except that of the Indian Complaints against the Proprietaries. It being frequently surmised to me that the Delaware Indians [illegible—rubbed] on Account of Injuries done to them both by this and the [illegible—rubbed] in their Transactions with them for Lands, and they never would be brought to make a firm and Lasting Peace, till these Uneasinesses were removed, I conceived it my Duty to press them to open themselves to me with the utmost Freedom on this Head promising them a fair hearing and my best endeavours to obtain for them a full Redress, if their Complaints shou'd appear to be just, and on doing it you see they have laid an heavy Charge on the Proprietaries.

Lieutenant Colonel Weiser the Provincial Interpreter declared in Council, the Commissioners present, that the Indian Pumpshire, Teedyuscung's Delaware Interpreter, informed him some white People in Town were perpetually putting things into the Heads of the Indians respecting their pretended Complaints. I had at first charged M^r Weiser and him not to interpret any Thing that shoud be said to the Indians without my Permission, & the Centries who were posted to guard them had Orders not to suffer any white People to speak to them.—Yet as almost all the Delawares speak English, and Teedyuscung we know does, he and some of the principal Indians went frequently to Peoples Houses, and might converse with whom they pleased. One Morning in particular the Delaware Chief with one of his Councellors and the Interpreter Pumpshire was observed by M^r Weiser to go into the House where some of the principal Philadelphia Quakers lodged and informing M^r Peters of it he immediately went there & found it to be true, of which he informed me, & I likewise made it publick.

M^r. Peters at my Instance has given you a particular Relation of what passed and is in hopes to receive your Answer time enough for his Conduct at the ensuing Treaty, where it is expected the Indians will endeavour to prove their Charges. In the Mean time a Committee of Council is appointed to examine the Indian Deeds, Treaties, Minutes of Council and Minutes of Property and their Examination will be reported to me in Council, from whence a proper Defence will be made against any Charges that shall be made against you.

Agreeable to your request in one of your Letters to M^r. Peters, that whatever passes between this Government and the Indians may be instantly communicated to Sir William Johnson, either by me or him, I did not fail at my first coming to write to that Gentleman, informing him of my Appointment to the Government of this Province, desiring his Assistance and Advice as to my Conduct in Indian Affairs, promising to give him particular Accounts of Intelligence, or any other Matters as they shoud occur, and requesting the same favour on his Part: I had the honour of receiving a polite Answer from him, wherein he is pleased to assure me of his Correspondence, Assistance & Service. Since that Copies of the Indian Conferences at Easton

were sent by me to Sir William Johnson with a Letter on the Subject, which he was so good as to answer, approving what was then done, & recommending M^r^. Croghan to me as the Person deputed by him, with the Approbation of Lord Loudoun to negotiate Indian Affairs within this Province & elsewhere. His Commission and Instructions to M^r^ Croghan were laid before the Council, and Assembly: and Copies sent to you. In Pursuance of these Powers M^r^ Croghan dispatched in my Name a Message to the Delaware Chief Teedyuscung pressing to come here with all the dispatch possible, that the Business with him might be finished time enough to admit the Indians to join his Majesty's Forces at the Beginning of the Campaign. Other Messengers were sent to the Ohio, to sound the Shawanese and Delawares in those Parts and if found to be of a good Disposition, then they were instructed to hint to them that if they woud lay down the Hatchet, and depute some of their principal Indians to the Treaty to be held in the Spring with Teedyuscung, they wou'd not meet with a disagreeable Reception, or something to that Effect. Sir William informed by M^r^. Croghan of these Steps, and approving them dispatched a Deputation of the Six Nations to attend and assist at the Treaty: tho' they were few at first setting out, yet on their Journey they increased to above One hundred and fifty, and are now at Conestoga under the Care of M^r^. Croghan waiting for Teedyuscung. A Message is come from him informing me of his good Disposition & Intentions to treat, and bring with him a Large Number of Indians, and desiring a Supply of Provisions on their Journey, which was complied with. He likewise gave me Intelligence that the French sent six of their People and four Indians to view the Fort at Shamokin, and that they were returned with two Scalps which they said were Scalps of two of the Out Centinels of Fort Augusta. True it is that two were killed & scalped, but by what Indians, it was never discovered till this Account came from Teedyuscung. Having thrown together all that occurs on the Subject of Indians, I shall now go on to mention my Proceedings with the Assembly. It gave me no small Concern to think that the publick business was interrupted by my Journey to Easton. I hoped however that upon my Return the Assembly wou'd not fail to dispa [bound in] the Sundry Things laid before them and it lookt as if they were really inclined to do it by sending me a Message soon after my Return, requesting me to lay before them what Instructions I might have relating to Laws that they might not lose time in preparing Bills which by my Instructions I could not pass. finding only the 44 Instruction to be of a publick Nature, I forthwith sent them a Copy of it, with an Assurance that I had no other which coud effect any of their Deliberations. The first Business that came on was the Affair of Quarters. Lord Loudoun in a Letter of 22^d^ September which was laid before the House at their first Meeting demanded of this Province to make Provision for Quarters, & the necessarys allowed in them, and by a subsequent Letter of the 28^th^ October, informed me, that he should send one Battalion of the Royal American [bound in] and an Inde-

pendent Company, to be quartered in this City. which coming to my Hands at Easton, cou'd not be laid before the House till the 24th November. This however gave time enough to have a Bill passed & the Quarters settled before the March of the Troops, to which the House was pressed, but in vain; nor was anything done till the Forces had actually begun their March & an Officer was sent before to give Notice of it & to inspect the Quarters, imagining they were ready The House alarmed at their Approach presented me a Bill extending the Sections relating to Quarters in the Act for punishing Mutiny & Desertion, &c. This Act of Parliament you know only affects publick Houses and indeed is calculated for Times of Peace even in England. Before I wou'd enter upon the Consideration of this Bill, I sent to the Mayor, and ordered him to cause an exact Account to be taken of the Publick Houses within this City, and what number of Quarters coud be furnished by them, upon which he issued his Precepts to the Constables of each Ward to inspect every Publick House, and on receiving their Return, I examined it, the Mayor and Captain Tulliken being present. Finding the Return not to be so exactly made as to be depended on, I desired those Gentlemen wou'd visit every Publick House themselves, in order to be satisfied of the real Estate of the Quarters, and well it was I gave this order for they discovered that the Constables Returns were partial; false and made at the Instances of the Tavern Keepers who imagined they shou'd be allowed a Shilling a day for every Soldier, as they had been for every Recruit. On reading the 24th Section of the Act of Parliament at large, the Conduct of the Assembly was detected for by extending the beginning of this Section, the present Bill was seen to be the very same in Effect with their Old Law repealed by the King and therefore the Bill was returned with a Negative, and a Message setting forth this Imposition. The House apprehensive of the bad Consequences of any further Delay, left out the Part objected to. Notwithstanding I was satisfied that Quarters cou'd not be provided, under this Act, sufficient for the Number of Troops expected here, yet the Bill was good as far as it wou'd go. & besides established Quartering of Troops by Law throughout the Province. I therefore passed it, recommending at the same time a further provision of Quarters to supply the Deficiency of the Publick Houses. In the meantime Lieut. Coll. Bouquet, being made acquainted by Captn. Tulliken with the Difficulties occurring about the Soldiers Quarters, hastened to Town exceedingly displeased as there was a new Provincial Hospital sufficient to hold five hundred Men with the proportion of Officers just finished, tho' not used; at his pressing Instance I applied for it as what woud help us at once out of all our difficulties, and had good hopes given me of succeeding, tho' in the End I was refused. I then made application to the Mayor, to desire the Corporation wou'd assist in providing Quarters by hiring empty Houses or by any other means, to prevent, if possible, Quartering on Private Houses. My Request was politely refused, the Corporation not having funds sufficient to be at so much Expense. During these Transactions

a very deep snow fell succeeded by a sharp Frost. In this severe weather the Troops marched into Town, the small Pox raging in every Part, and were crouded into Publick Houses, where they suffered extreme Hardships and caught the Infection. The Surgeons declared every House woud be an Hospital unless the sick were removed into one Place and those who were well less crouded & better accommodated. After all the Pains taken by the Mayor and Magistrates, it appeared by the Return that Quarters were wanting for One hundred and twenty-four private Men. These distressed circumstances of the Troops I repeatedly laid before the House, who nevertheless suffered the Men to lie in this miserable Condition. Lieutenant Colonel Bouquet having met with nothing but Disappointments, and more Men falling sick every day demanded my Warrant. On the Mayor's refusing to Act, I sent for the high Sheriff, acquainting him with Colonel Bouquet's Demand, and assured him, a Warrant to provide sufficient Quarters for the King's Troops woud be delivered to Colonel Bouquet, directed to him to which he was to yield Obedience; charging him to take particular Care that the Inhabitants were distressed as little as possible on the Manner of Quartering. This Measure was intended to hasten the Resolution of the House on this important Affair which would admit of no further delay The Warrant was accordingly delivered, in the Presence of the Sheriff, to the Commanding officer with a Blank for the Number of Men who wanted Quarters, and he was to send it to me to have them inserted, in case it was necessary to be executed, early next Day the Sheriff waited on Colonel Bouquet, and desired he might be trusted with the Writ for a short Time, in order to shew it to some of his Friends, who had great Influence on the Assembly and might by their Petition prevent the Necessity of putting it into Execution, which wou'd have been very agreeable to all Parties. Instead of a Petition, the Writ itself was laid before the House in a clandestine Manner, and very improperly, by the Sheriff's Consent; which threw the House into a ferment and for the first time since the Charter, they sat all Saturday Afternoon and Sunday Morning, and drew up a long abusive Message, which they chose shou'd be delivered by two of the Members, as the People were going to Church, desiring withal a Conference for the final Settlement of the Matter; to which I readily agreed and appointed the next Morning. On Perusal of their Message, I found it contained a long narrative filled with Abuses, which I answered briefly, telling them these Proceedings shou'd be referred to the King's Ministers, and informing them that while they were consuming their Time in long Messages, Sixty two Beds were actually wanted for One hundred and twenty four Men who lay upon Straw, and Quarters for the Recruits who arrived every Day.

At the Conference, which was held in Council, the Members of the House behaved with great Rudeness and Insolence, calling me a Bashaw &c. using many other Expressions, not at all becoming them. I only answered that if they found fault with me for doing my Duty in Quartering the King's Troops in that very severe Season, they did me

a great deal of Honor and that whatever might be the Consequence I was determined to do my Duty. Immediately after the Conference, finding nothing was to be expected from the Assembly, I dispatched an Express to Lord Loudoun, with an Account of all these Proceedings, who was pleased by the Return of the Messenger to thank me for my proper and steady Conduct, offering to send me more Troops to enforce the Quarters, if the Assembly shou'd still continue obstinate. The House, having, without my privity or Consent presumed to adjourn for the Christmas Holidays, notwithstanding the distressed Condition and Sickness of the Soldiers, who were raised and paid to defend them: His Lordship's Letter came to my Hand during this Adjournment. This obstinate Persisting in an open Neglect of Humanity was the highest Instance I have ever met with of the Depravity of Human Nature. I had however another Resource, which was to acquaint the Commissioners that I had received a Letter from his Lordship which obliged me to know if Colonel Bouquet's Demand for Quarters &c. con'd be complied with, & to insist on a clear & precise Answer before Night, telling them that the Express waited to carry it to his Lordship. On this Letter the Commissioners met, and sent me an Answer, subscribed by all that they wou'd comply with Colonel Bouquet's Demand & provide Quarters, an Hospital, & all other Things to his Satisfaction. Thus this troublesome Affair was at last settled, which might with a great deal of Ease have been done as well at first, and with a much better Grace. The Assembly was pleased immediately to print a partial Report of the Conference, without my Leave, or even acquainting me of their Intention, nor had they so much Decency and Regard to Justice as to compare the minutes with the Clerk of the Council.

On the 13 January, after having sat three compleat Calendar Months, the House presented me three Bills, one for binding out & settling &c the French Neutrals. The second for regulating the Provincial Officers and Soldiers that is putting them on the same Footing with the King's Troops with a power given me to appoint a Court Martial, and the third for continuing the City Watch, all which were passed without any hesitation or objection, but still I heard nothing from them on the Article of Supplies, or the Militia, At length, on the 22^{d} January, a Bill was sent to me for raising One hundred Thousand pounds for the King's use by a Tax on all Estates real & personal, which on Perusal appeared to me as a Stranger, as well as to the Gentlemen of the Council, who have been long experienced in the Affairs of this Country, to be not only contrary to your particular Instructions, but if there had been no Instructions at all, to common Equity and Justice. Not desirous to open a new Controversy about the Rights of amending Bills which of late the House had begun to controvert. In a short Message to the House I declared the Necessity I was under of refusing my Assent to it, and pressed them to prepare a New Bill free from the Objections which so obviously lay against this. Instead of a Complyance they thought proper to return me the Bill with a Remonstrance demanding it of me as their Right to give my Assent to it (and as

it was a Money Bill without Alteration or Amendment) as I shou'd answer to the Crown for all the Consequences of my Refusal, at my Peril. To this extreme Rudeness and Insolence I made no other Reply than still to refuse my Assent to the Bill and to tell the House I woud copy it in order to lay it before his Majesty with my Reasons for not passing it and if the House desired an Exemplification under the Great Seal they might have it upon Application. Under this Disappointment the House proceeded to consider other Means of raising Supplies, and tho' many might have occurred to them which I cou'd pass consistent with Honour & a regard to Justice, yet it was easy to foresee that in such a Humour they wou'd not offer me any such: at length they fell upon making a Supplemental Bill to the Sixty Thousand Pounds Act already passed by his Majesty their pretense for this was that it had obtained the Royal Assent, which agreeable to the Preamble of the Instruction most probably wou'd not have been given, if the Proprietaries had not declined all opposition on Account of the Bills having issued, and the perilous Circumstances of the Province, so that what was meant by the Proprietaries as a well timed Instance of their Indulgence was artfully turned against them and the Law tho' unjust as being permitted to pass sub Silentio, was set up for a precedent.

In order to obviate this plausible Reason in favour of the Bill, a Message was sent to set forth the Grievances which woud fall on particulars in case it was to pass into a Law. This had no other Effect than to produce an abusive Report of a Committee of Assembly which the House adopted and returned the Bill with a Verbial Message conceived in their usual Strain, that if I shoud continue to refuse my Assent to the Bill as it then stood they must refer it to me to pay the Forces or disband them as I shoud judge I coud best Answer for my Conduct to his Majesty.

As soon as this troublesome Affair was ended they presented to me a Bill to render the Quartering of the Soldiers on the Publick Houses more equal, in which they laid further Excise of two pence per gallon on Liquors sold by Publick Housekeepers subject by Law to be billetted upon, which leaving out the Retailers of small Liquors did but make bad worse, the Injustice of this Bill I set forth in a Message to which they paid no Regard and tho' I was by no means convinced it was a good Bill, yet as it made some further Provision for Quarters, and was of a short Duration, I was advised to pass it, which I did unwillingly, thinking it to be a partial Bill.

Having received a Letter from the Lords of Trade in January last, ordering restraints to be laid on all Vessels bound to any other Port than such as belonged to his Majesty. I laid it before the House with a Message desiring a Bill might be prepared agreeable to the King's Orders signified in that Letter. As if there was not already matter enough of Debate they presented me a Bill confining the Restraint and Prohibition to America only, leaving Vessels at Liberty to sail to any Neutral ports in Europe, and adhered to this partial Bill in Opposition

to my just Amendments, & against the express directions of the Lords of Trade who were on this Occasion treated with Indecency in one of their Messages which they likewise published in the Gazettee.

Another Bill was likewise offered at the same Time to continue the Act now expired for the more easy and speedy recovery of Legacies. As to this I was informed by M^r^. Hamilton & M^r^. Peters you had made some just objections to it as interfering with the Powers of Chancery yet this being not a Time to raise new Disputes the Council advised me to pass it, which I accordingly did.

On the fourth of March an Express arrived in the Evening from Lord Loudoun with Letters to me & the Southern Governors requiring us to lay a General Embargo, and to take all imaginable that it shoud be strictly observed. The Collector was instantly sent for and served with an Order in Form under the Great Seal not to clear any Vessel and desired forthwith to send a List of all the Vessels in Port particularly those who had got their Clearances. The next Day I conferred with Colonel Stanwix and give order to the Officer who commanded at the Fort not to suffer any Vessels to pass, I sent a Message to the House acquainting them with what had been done & desiring such an Embargo might be laid by Law as wou'd answer my Lords' Purposes, to this they have not yet vouchsafed to give me any Answer.

In the Minutes of the Indian Conferences you will find an Invitation made to the Indians to come & settle at Shamokin with a Promise of having a Store of Goods to be sold to them at reasonable rates under the Care of a Person for whom the Government woud be answerable—to enable me to discharge this Promise and to put the Indian Trade, heretofore in the Hands of Persons of no Character who had abused and defrauded the Indians, upon a good footing, it was necessary a good Law shou'd be carefully framed, and such an one I might reasonably have expected, instead of this, the House sent a Bill the like to which I will venture to say was never offered in any Government. The Power of naming, commissionating, and instructing, the Agents to be employed in regulating the Trade, and even distributing the Presents to the Indians & almost every Thing being lodged solely in the House or Committees of Assembly without any Participation of the Governor and Council. Such a Bill I understood had been offered to the late Governor whose Amendments were read in Council & being again considered & approved as necessary, reasonable and just, they were transcribed and sent with the Bill to the House, who instantly returned it with a Negative and I as quickly sent it again with my peremptory refusal.

M^r^ Hockly no doubt has acquainted you with the ill Temper the House was in, on my refusing a Bill for striking the Sum of Two thousand and eight Hundred and forty pounds, the remainder unpaid of your Gift of £5000. The Money was indeed particularly wanted at that Time and coud have been employed to very great Advantage in enabling me to send Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong on a private Expedition which cou'd not be executed for want of such a Sum.

One Bill more closes this Tedious Account of the Proceedings of Assembly, except what was done with or by Advice of Lord Loudoun which will be told more properly when I come to speak of my Transactions with his Lordship.

Common Sense and fatal Experience shews, that in such a Country as this with so extended a Frontier, that proper Defence must be made by a well disciplined & well-regulated Militia, and this, tho' the first in Order & Consequence, was put off to the Close of the Sessions without regard to my warm recommendations of it in my Speech at the Opening of the Sessions, and to my repeated Applications during the Course of it.

I proposed to the Council to have a good & proper Militia Bill carefully drawn, and to have it sent to the House early in their Sessions, but it was signified to me by them that many of the Assembly on the New change of Members were well disposed and might offer a better Bill of themselves than they woud approve, if sent by the Governor, of whom their Attachment to the People led them to entertain unreasonable Jealousies.

On this consideration I dropped the Motion and waited for the Result of the Assembly's Deliberations on this important Subject, which as I said they did not chuse to send me till the Members were tired with their long Sessions & impatient to go home.

The State of the Frontiers & the Forces come next to be considered. After Col°. Armstrong's successful Expedition against the Kittaning and the Conclusion of the Peace at Easton the back Inhabitants enjoyed rest from the Incursions of the Savage, and the poor People who were drove from their Plantations generally returned to them. Straggling Parties of Indians may be always expected to do Mischief but none has been done in any Part of this Province during the whole Winter that has come to my knowledge, except that whilst Teedyuscung & his People were loitering on the Borders in his Return an House was attacked under the Blue Hills in Northampton County, one Man killed, a Girl of about eleven years of Age carried off and a woman missing, a little after this a Boy was killed & scalped on the Borders of Berks County, & another dangerously wounded, who made his Escape and declared he saw but two Indians. Two of the Centries at Fort Augusta were shot by foreign Indians in the Winter, who made off instantly & tho' pursued were not overtaken, of this last Party of Indians Teedyuscung as I said above gave an Account. In my last, I mentioned that the Augusta Battalion were employed in building and carrying on the Works at that Fort, their Duty and Labour very severe. Even under these Circumstances of the Garrison, I ordered a strong Detachment under Colonel Clapham toward the Ohio, to act offensively and if possible destroy an Indian Town; but Intelligence arriving before these Orders cou'd be carried into Execution, that a large Body of French and Indians was coming to besiege the Fort they were obliged to lay the Expedition aside. This account proving false, Colonel Clapham, who was employed in finishing the Fort, sent out a Captain's Command, to attack an Indian Town called Shingleclamouse,

situate near the Head of the West Branch of Susquehannah where was supposed to be a great Resort of Indians. Captain Hambright entered the Town, found the Cabbins all standing, but deserted by the Indians: agreeable to his Orders he did not touch anything, nor destroy the Town in hopes the Indians wou'd come & settle there again; This was the only Indian Town cou'd be attacked, & we found by a second Expedition that they had return'd, set their Town on Fire and retired to Venango, situate where the River auBoeuf runs into the Ohio. Since the affair of Kittaning the Indians on this side the Ohio have mostly retired with their Wives and Children under the French Forts on that River.

The state of the Provincial Forces, a subject the most disagreeable of all still remains to be mentioned. The thirty thousand Pounds raised in Septemb^{r}. were soon expended in discharging the Arrears due to the Forces, and for other Articles, at the Time that Bill passed. No Money remaining for the future Pay of the Soldiers, and the Supply Bill being kept back, another large Arrear was incurred, I suppose purposely, to breed Discontent among the Forces, prevent recruiting, and every Way to increase the publick Confusion, in Order to oblige me to pass any Bill that shou'd be presented. The Difficultics put upon me were, and still are, inconceivable, on Account of the Manner used here in enlisting into the Service, which is in some Instances for three Months, in others for six, and in almost all, for only a Year. This I wanted to alter from the very beginning, and gave the Officers Orders to recruit for no less Time than three Years, or during the War.—I declared from Time to time to the Commissioners the Necessity of this Alteration, and their giving a large Bounty for every Recruit, but they still answered me, that they had no Money, with this Answer I was forced to acquiesce.

As in the Spring Parties of the Enemy Indians were expected to renew their Incursions, at the latter End of March I ordered Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong to encamp with a Detachment consisting of Three hundred Men near Rea's Town a well chose Station on this side the Allegheny Hills between two Indian Roads the only known Track of the Indians to invest this Province. He had further Directions to employ Spies, and send out ranging Parties, by these [mended and illegible]—might have been prevented or their Retreat cut off w^{ch}. woud probably have hindered future Incursions. For this Service a few Horses, some Forrage & a small matter of Camp Equipage are wanting. I cannot prevail on the Commissioners to advance the necessary Supplies, so that I doubt this Expedition will miscarry for want of a trifling Expense.

Colonel Clapham gave me early Notice that most of his Battalion was only enlisted for a Year, which in several Instances is already expired & in most will expire either in this or the next Month. That Gentleman tir'd with the Discouragements perpetually given to the Service, and with their particular Treatment of him, has resigned his Commission, & there never having been a Lieu^{t}. Col^{o}. appointed to

that Battalion, Major Bird has now the Command at Augusta. The Works there cou'd not be finished before the severe Season came on, but they will be soon compleated if the Soldiers can be prevail'd upon to continue in the Service, which I very much doubt They have done a great deal & ought to have Encouragement to do more which it is not in my Power to give.

William Denny

Governor Denny to the Earl of Holdernesse.

Philadelphia 12 July 1757

My Lord

I was honored with your Lordship's Letter of the Second of May, by the Spry Sloop of War. The Embargo was taken off by Lord Loudon's Direction the Twenty Seventh of last Month. I shall strictly conform to the other particulars in your Lordship's Letter.

The Affairs of this Colony seem to be every Day in a worse Situation than the last, and however reasonable the Proprietary Instructions may appear at home, it has, and may be impossible to put them in Execution, in every particular, especially in the Articles of greater Consequence, the Assembly of this Province obstinately refusing to raise Money on the Plan laid down in those Instructions, notwithstanding I have frequently recommended it to them. Therefore I find myself obliged to represent to your Lordship, that I think it will be for his Majesty's Service and the Safety of this Colony, that the Proprietaries should be pleased to relax their Instructions, or one of them come over because the Distance is so great, that before I can explain the Necessity of an alteration in them, the Province may be lost. I am

My Lord

Your Lordship's most obliged
and most obedient
humble Servant
William Denny

Earl of Holdernesse.

Gen. John Forbes to Governor Denny.

Fourt Duquesne
now Pittsbourg 26 November 1758.

Sir,

I have the pleasure and honour of acquainting you with the Signal success of His Majesty's Troops over all his Enemies on the Ohio, by having obliged them to burn and abandon their Fort Duquesne which they effectuated upon the 24th. instant. And of which I took possession with my little Army, the next day, the Enemy having made their *Escape down the River* part in Boats and part by Land *to their Forts and Settlements on the Mississippi*, being abandoned or at least not seconded by their Friends the Indians whom we had previously engaged

to act a neutral part, And who now seem all willing and ready to embrace His Majesty's most gracious Protection.

So give me leave to congratulate you upon this important event of having totally expelled the French from their Fort and this prodigious tract of fine Country and of having in a manner reconciled the various tribes of Indians inhabiting it, to His Majesty's Government.

I have not time to give you a detail of our proceedings and approaches towards the Enemy, or of the hardships and difficulties that we necessarily met with, all that will soon come out, but I assure you after reviewing the Ground and Fort, I have great reason to be most thankful for the part that the French have acted.

As the conquest of this Country is of the greatest Consequence to the adjacent Provinces by securing the Indians our real Friends for their own advantage, I have therefore sent for their head people to come to me, when I think in few Words and few days to make every thing easy. I shall then set out to kiss your hands if I have strength enough left to carry me through the Journey.

I shall be obliged to leave about 200 Men of your Provincial troops to join a proportion of Virginia and Marylanders in order to protect this Country during Winter. by which time I hope the Provinces will be so sensible of the great benefit of this new Acquisition as to enable me to fix this noble fine Country to all perpetuaty under the dominion of Great Britain.

I beg the Barracks may be put in good repair and proper lodging for the Officers. and that you will send me with the greatest dispatch your Opinion how I am to dispose of the rest of your Provincial Troops, *for the ease and convenience of the Province and the Inhabitants*— You must also remember that Colonel Montgomery's Battalion of 1300 Men & Four Companies of Royal Americans, are after so long and tedious a Campaign to be taken care off in some Comfortable Winter Quarters.

I kiss all your hands and flatter myself that if I get to Philadelphia, under your cares and good Company I shall yet run a good chance of reestablishing a health that I run the *risque of ruining to give your Province all the Satisfaction* in the power of my weak abilities.

I am Sir.
with great esteem and regard
Your most obedient
humble Servant
Jo: Forbes

Governor Denny

Governor Denny to Thomas Penn.

Philadelphia 31st May 1758.

Sir

I take this Opportunity of acquainting you that the Lower Counties have raised Seven Thousand Pounds for this Year's Supplies, which

will recruit and pay 3 companies of 60 Men to a Company. That Assembly absolutely refused to raise any Money for the King's Service unless I wou'd give my assent to a Bill for remitting their Twenty Thousand Pounds to be let out on Loan for the further Term of 16 Years and in Consequence of a pressing Letter from Brigadier Gen[l]. Stanwix, a Copy whereof is enclos'd I passed it, and have the Satisfaction to find my Conduct approv'd of by General Amherst, a Copy of whose Letter on that Subject I have likewise sent you.

The Assembly of this Province is now sitting and have offer'd me a Bill for recording of Warrants and Surveys & for rendering the real Estates and Property within this Province more secure, which is under Consideration. I have only time to add, I am, Sir,

Your affectionate friend
and most obedient
humble servant
William Denny.

The Honorable Thomas Penn Esquire

A CENTURY OF GRAND OPERA IN PHILADELPHIA.

A Historical Summary read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Monday Evening, January 12, 1920.

BY JOHN CURTIS.

Music is as old as the world itself; the Drama dates from before the Christian era. Combined in the form of Grand Opera as we know it today they delighted the Florentines in the sixteenth century, when Peri gave "Dafne" to the world, although the ancient Greeks listened to great choruses as incidents of their comedies and tragedies. Started by Peri, opera gradually found its way to France, Germany, and through Europe. It was the last form of entertainment to cross the Atlantic to the new world, and while some works of the great old-time composers were heard in New York, Charleston and New Orleans in the eighteenth century, Philadelphia did not experience the pleasure until 1818 was drawing to a close, and so this city rounded out its first century of Grand Opera a little more than a year ago.

But it was a century full of interest and incident. In those hundred years Philadelphia heard 276 different Grand Operas. Thirty of these were first heard in America on a Philadelphia stage, and fourteen had their first presentation on any stage in this city. There were times when half a dozen travelling companies bid for our patronage each season; now we have one. One year Mr. Hinrichs gave us seven solid months of opera, with seven performances weekly; now we are permitted to attend sixteen performances a year, unless some wandering organization cares to take a chance with us. We have seen Charlotte Cushman, one of the world's

greatest tragic actresses pirouetting about as the bright star of Auber's "The Dumb Girl of Portici," Mrs. John Drew singing in the chorus of "Norma," and Stuart Robson, whose name has always been linked with comedy, made almost his first stage venture in this city as Hortensius in "The Daughter of the Regiment." We have heard opera in English, French, Italian, German, Polish, and I believe, in Yiddish. The first American Grand Opera was written and composed by Philadelphians and first produced in Philadelphia. To merely read a list of the famous singers who have entertained us would take an hour's time. And we have listened to opera in twenty-seven enclosed and three open-air theatres in the century that has so recently closed. There were five thousand, eight hundred performances of opera in Philadelphia during that period.

The History of Grand Opera in Philadelphia might justly be divided into three epochs, those of the Chestnut Street Theatre, the Academy of Music and the Metropolitan Opera House, for while opera was sung in many other houses, it centered in these. The first performance on December 26, 1818 lacked only two weeks of seventy years after the first theatrical performance in this city, by the Murray and Keen Company in Plumstead's warehouse, Water Street above Pine. The warehouse was a barn-like structure back of William Plumstead's store. Murray and Keen had erected a stage at one end, installed seats and strung a curtain, probably lighting this pioneer of local theatres with candles. There was no way of heating the building, hence patrons were permitted to carry their stoves and fuel with them. You who sat in luxurious comfort in the great Metropolitan Opera House last Tuesday night and watched the magnificent pageantry of "La Juive" may note the contrast between 1749 and 1920.

But primitive as it was, it was in this theatre that

Philadelphia heard its first musical play, if one may so generally designate all forms of opera. It was not Grand Opera, however, but very crudely performed ballad or comic opera. The most pretentious work in Murray and Keen's repertoire was "The Beggar's Opera," which it may have sung here. The presumption is that it did, as this is one of several operas of that calibre that the company sang in New York after an indignant populace had chased it away from Philadelphia.

Our forefathers of the eighteenth century looked askance upon stage folk and stage entertainment; the theatre was regarded as the earthly habitat of Satan himself, and its advent in Philadelphia was not to be countenanced by the staid Quakers who did not believe the theatre to be a part of Penn's plan. The "contamination" was avoided after Murray and Keen had been hustled forth until the Hallams came in 1754 to re-open the Plumstead place and later to build the first two theatres in this city. Murray and Keen's company was composed of vagabonds, among whom were a few who had had actual stage experience in England. But Hallam's people were trained and experienced players. Hallam made extensive alterations in the warehouse, making it more nearly resemble a theatre, and opened his season on April 23, 1754, with "The Fair Penitent," a tragedy, and "Miss in her Teens" as the inevitable farce with which no early theatrical evening was complete. We may really regard the Murray and Keen effort as a "flash in the pan," as it was Hallam who established the drama here, although for a time later it was suspended. Most of the old-time plays began with a prologue and ended with an epilogue pertaining to the play. But on this occasion they were introductory of the drama in a theatrically virgin community. The prologue, spoken before the curtain, as Tonio now does it in magnificent song was:

Too oft, we own, the stage with dangerous art,
In wanton scenes has played a Syren's part;
Yet if the Muse, unfaithful to her trust,
Has sometimes strayed from what is pure and just,
Has she not oft, with awful virtue's rage
Struck home at vice, and nobly trod the stage?
Then as you'd treat a favorite Fair's mistake,
Pray spare her foibles for her virtue's sake;
And whilst her chastest scenes are made appear,
(For none but such will be admitted here),
The Muse's friends, we hope, will join the cause,
And crown our best endeavors with applause.

At the conclusion of the evening's entertainment Mrs. Lewis Hallam stepped forward and pronounced this epilogue:

Much has been said in this redeeming age,
To damn in gross, the business of the stage.
Some, for this end, in terms not quite so civil
Have given both plays and players to the devil.
With red hot zeal in dreadful pomp they come,
And bring their flaming tenets warm from Rome;
Fathers and Councils, Hermits from the cell
Are brought to prove this is the road to Hell;
To me, who am, I own, a weak woman,
This way of reformation seems uncommon.
If these authorities are good, we hope
To gain a full indulgence from the Pope.
We, too, will fly to Holy Mother Church
And leave these sage reformers in the lurch.

But to be serious;—now let's try the cause
By Truth and Reason's most impartial laws.
The play just finished, prejudice apart,
Let honest nature speak—how feels the heart?
Did it not throb? Then tell it to our foes,
To mourn the Parent, Friend and Husband's woes,
Whilst at the cause of all a noble indignation rose.
If, then, the soul in virtue's cause we move,
Why should the friends of virtue disapprove?
We trust they do not by this splendid sight
Of dazzling eyes that grace our scenes tonight;
Then smile, ye fair, propitious to our cause,
And every honest heart will beat applause.

While performances of opera by Murray and Keen can only be surmised, the actual record of the first

operatic performance in Philadelphia is that of a comic work entitled "Flora, or Hob in the Well," by the Hallam Company on May 7, 1754, in the Plumstead warehouse. The company, during its various visits presented other musical works as well, but none worthy of particular note. The Revolution not only ended theatrical activities for the time, but Congress passed a law abolishing the theatre altogether. For a long time after the war was over plays and operas were given under thinly disguised titles and many amusing subterfuges were resorted to to present them in defiance of law. Efforts to have the law repealed were fought vigorously by the religious element. They won a temporary victory by quoting songs from two operas and demanded of Congress and the Assembly if such drivel should be authorized by law. One of these quotations, from an un-named work was:

> Ditherum, doodle, aggety;
> Nagity, Nigity num.
> Goosterum, foodle nidgity,
> Nigity, Nagity, Num.

and the other from the "Castle of Andalusia;"

> A Master I have and I am his man,
> Galloping dreary dun.
> And he will get married as fast as he can,
> With my haily, gaily, gamborally
> Giggling, niggling, galloping galloway,
> Draggletail, dreary dun.

But the Act was eventually repealed, and since then Philadelphia has never been without its theatres.

The erection of the First Chestnut Street Theatre by Wignell and Reinagle, just west of Sixth Street, on the north side, gave a home to Philadelphia's first grand opera. The theatre was opened February 17, 1794, this event having been postponed ten months because of the epidemic of yellow fever which swept the city. This theatre was an exact duplicate of the Royal Theatre of

Bath, England, which was considered the finest theatre in the world. The new Chestnut was the most pretentious ever erected up to that time on this side of the Atlantic, and its construction added to the fame and standing of the city, then the Nation's Capital, and home of Washington, who was a frequent visitor. Wignell had engaged a splendid company for it in England, with Mrs. Oldmixon as leading lady and prima donna. This gifted woman, because of her standing in the very forefront of her profession, was paid a much higher salary than any of the others, her stipend being the munificent sum of $37 a week. As Miss George, leading woman of the Royal Theatre of Bath, she had been the toast of the young bloods of Bath and London. Among her admirers was the gayest of the gay, genial, lovable, reckless Sir John Oldmixon, called the "beau of Bath," who carried off the prize even though he had scattered his patrimony to the four winds. He came here with his wife, bought a farm in Germantown, and settled down to the life of a farmer, driving into the city several times each week to market his cabbages. It was one case where the marriage of an actress and a sporty baronet turned out well, and the pair are said to have lived in happiness and content.

Mrs. Oldmixon and some other members of the company had been engaged with a special view to exploiting opera as well as the drama, but for some years Wignell and Reinagle hesitated to go beyond the comic and ballad line. In the meantime came Lailson and his French company from Charleston. A fine theatre had been erected for them at Fifth and Locust Streets, or Prune Street as it was then called. The feature of this house was a magnificent dome which towered ninety feet above the street level. This company was versatility personified, for it included in its repertoire opera, drama, farce, vaudeville and circus feats. The operas offered, while more pretentious than those Philadelphia

had ever heard before, were of the better grade of comic works by such composers as Paisiello, Gretry and others. Sonneck in his "Early Opera in America" says that the company produced Gretry's one Grand Opera, "Richard, the Lion Hearted;" but a search of records of that time shows that it did not. At the Chestnut, however, a play of that title was given as part of a triple bill, which accounts for the error. Lailson had given Grand Opera in Charleston, and no doubt would have done so here, but before reaching that point, on Sunday, July 8, 1798, the dome that had been his pride collapsed, wrecking the building, and bringing the career of the company in Philadelphia to a disastrous end.

But in the evolution of the stage we were steadily approaching Grand Opera. Late in 1817 Charles Benjamin Incledon, a famous tenor, sang at the Chestnut in several comic operas. He was the best tenor that Philadelphia had ever heard, and had a Grand Operatic repertoire. He was soon followed by another distinguished tenor, Henry Phillips, who was the first singer here to use the so-called Italian method. The appeal of such voices led to a demand that real Grand Opera be produced, and the management sought a vehicle. News of the success with which Sir Henry Rowley Bishop's English adaptation of Mozart's "Don Giovanni" had met in London in 1816 had reached them, and they determined to make their venture with this work. Great preparations were made. Among extra artists engaged were Mr. and Mrs. LaFolle, the latter as one of the prima donnas, the former as conductor. Mrs. LaFolle before her marriage was a Miss Placide, member of a family of players who were prominent on the Philadelphia stage for several generations. Choristers were engaged, and according to prevailing custom, those of the company who were not assigned to parts also sang in the chorus. The orchestra was augmented

by the best "professors of Music" in the city, and the management "went the limit" in scenic investiture, costumes and properties. It was pronounced the most gorgeous theatrical entertainment that Philadelphia had ever witnessed. The performance was given on the evening of December 26, 1818, and this marks the beginning of the history of Grand Opera in Philadelphia. It was sung four times successively, and the cast was:

Don Pedro	Mr. Hughes
Don Juan	Henry Wallack
Don Octavio	Mr. Abercrombie
Leporello	Joseph Jefferson
Masetto	John Darley
Lopez	Mr. Hathwell
Donna Elvira	Mrs. LaFolle
Donna Leonora	Mrs. Henry Wallack
Zerlina	Mrs. Thomas Burke
Maria	Elizabeth Jefferson
Conductor	Mr. La Folle

This was the only production of opera in the first Chestnut Street Theatre. It is worthy of note that on that occasion the house was lighted by gas, the management having installed a private gas plant therein two years before. The structure was burned to the ground March 27, 1820, with the loss of all its equipment and its extremely valuable and in many cases irreplacable musical and dramatic library. But arrangements were immediately made to rebuild, and in the meantime the company was established at the Walnut Street Theatre, even then a long-established play-house, and still functioning as such more than a century later. There "The Libertine" was given several times, and there on February 25, 1822, Philadelphia heard its second Grand Opera, "The Barber of Seville," by the same company.

The Second Chestnut Street Theatre, handsomer than its predecessor, but inheriting its title of affection, "Old Drury," was opened December 2, 1822, and on January 1, 1823 the company made its third venture in Grand Opera, presenting Bishop's "The Law of

Java," the book of which was supplied by George Colman, the Younger. One more performance of it was given five nights later, and the opera was then shelved forever. The music was pronounced excellent, but the public would have none of it. Bishop not only adapted numerous foreign operas to the English stage, but was a prolific composer of original works as well. It was in one of these, "Clari, the Maid of Milan," book by John Howard Payne, that was first sung that song which will never die, "Home, Sweet Home." Payne, while United States Consul at Tunis, had been impressed with an old Sicilian air, which he tried to remember while collaborating with Bishop on this opera. He whistled it as he remembered it; Bishop caught the idea, and upon this base built the fine old melody to Payne's poem. The composer married his most promising pupil, who was many years his junior, and who soon afterward, before she was twenty years old, eloped with Robert Charles Nicholas Bochsa, a distinguished harpist and conductor, and general all-round forger and crook. Anna Bishop appeared often years later in Philadelphia at the head of her own opera company, with Bochsa conducting.

On March 18, 1825, the Chestnut Street Stock Company made its next venture in Grand Opera, presenting Weber's "Der Freischuetz," although it is doubtful if the amiable composer would have recognized his own child. Durang says that the vocal numbers and orchestral accompaniment were "arranged" by H. W. Darley, who also appeared in the cast as "Wilhelm," probably re-named for Max or Caspar. Adapters of operas in those days not only took extensive liberties with the score, but did not hesitate to change names and even introduce new characters. Moreover it must not be inferred that all who appeared sang. Some members of the casts in these stock company productions, while excellent actors, could no more sing than they could

fly, and it was customary for them to speak their lines either with or without orchestral accompaniment.

But while with the exception of "The Law of Java" all previous efforts in the way of Grand Opera had been reasonably profitable, "Der Freischuetz" was not. Four performances were given, the receipts of which were respectively $464, $216, $290 and $205, while the cost, exclusive of the investment, was $400 a night. What a contrast with the times in which we are living, when receipts of from $10,000 to $12,000 are not unusual, and even these large figures on certain occasions have been exceeded. The Company's experience with "Der Freischuetz" led it to confine its attention to the drama for a long time afterward. Of these operatic efforts William B. Wood wrote:

"It frequently happened that the pieces were not suited to the abilty of the singers, and it became necessary to omit much of the composer's music, substituting such popular and approved airs as were certain of obtaining applause. Each artist insisted on his share of this privilege until the merciless introduction of songs, encored by admirers of the several singers, protracted the entertainment to so late an hour as to leave the contending singers to a show of empty benches."

It must be remembered also that the opera was only part of the entertainment, each work sharing honors with a comedy, tragedy or farce. Performances began at six o'clock and lasted until midnight. There were no reserved seats, and those who had them, used to send their servants to get in the line early and hold places for them.

This production of "Der Freischuetz" brought forth the first operatic criticism in a Philadelphia newspaper. The dramatic critic of the United States Gazette, after a flattering notice of "Pizzaro," winds up with—

"It remains for our city to aid in checking the growing vitiation of taste and prevent such pieces from sink-

ing under any such productions as "Der Freischuetz" and "Don Giovanni." An enlightened public owes it as a duty, and each individual should feel called upon, to support fine sentiment and acting, in opposition to fairy tales and monsters of superstition."

This editorial wallop following the sad inspection of box office receipts fully convinced the management of "Old Drury" that Grand Opera did not belong in their repertoire.

It is puzzling to know why the public did not cordially respond. Possibly the theatre-going public even at that time believed in the doctrine expounded about sixty years later by the late William S. Stokley, that rum and music would not mix. For in those days there were places called bars at which certain beverages were dispensed which tradition says—caused intoxication, and one of these bars was on each floor of the theatres. One could therefore become comfortably drunk and disorderly without leaving the building, and many of them did. Indeed, this pleasant habit, which frequently led to actual rioting, was so ingrained in numerous patrons of the theatre that a strong force of police was always scattered through the house. Bars were not abolished by legislative act from the theatres until 1882.

1825, while not much of an operatic year in Philadelphia, was very important one in New York, for it witnessed the advent of the first Italian opera company in this country, that of Manual Garcia. Garcia's greatest attraction was his youthful and lovely daughter Maria, who although only in the period of charming young girlhood had already made a name for herself in London. She was soon to be acclaimed one of the rarely great singers of the world under her married name of Madame Malibran. The tale of her New York triumphs reached Philadelphia, and serious music lovers here were eager to hear her. The suggestion that arrangements be made to bring the Garcia com-

pany to the Chestnut Street Theatre was extensively discussed in conversation and in the public prints. The newspapers blew hot and blew cold. The Editor of the Gazette changed his opinions almost from day to day. Once he said that he could see no reason why the Garcias should come here as "our theatre is doing very well as it is." He confessed, however, that he was "not musical himself." Again he printed a long and dignified editorial in praise of the project, and soon afterward, on January 30, 1826, somersaulted again and said:

"As might have been expected, the New York people begin to be weary of the eternal sing song of opera; less than 250 persons occupied the boxes, it is said, on Tuesday night. We now hear something said of the want of music in Signor Garcia's voice; and the Garcia herself will ere long, we imagine, have her own delightful tones reverberating from the sounding board of empty boxes. The fact is that excepting as a matter of curiosity, a nine-days wonder, an opera company cannot be supported in America."

But the debate over "The Signorina," as Maria Garcia was generally referred to, continued. She was eventually persuaded to come here and give two concerts. One of these, on June 16, 1826, was in Musical Fund Hall, and realized $2000. The critics lost themselves in a search for adjectives with which to do justice to her God-given voice. On June 23 she gave her second concert in the Chestnut Street Theatre, and her audience filled every available spot in the house. But Philadelphia never heard this wonderful singer in opera. Virtually sold to a bankrupt and heartless French merchant of New York, Malibran, she supported him for a time by singing in the Bowery Theatre and Grace Church choir, and then in disgust, left him, went to Europe and was the idol of the opera going public until her death at the early age of twenty-eight years.

It remained for a regularly organized opera company to give Philadelphia its next taste of Grand Opera. New Orleans had long boasted such an organization, and this French company, after much thought, decided to invade the north. It was a serious undertaking, and meant a long voyage by sea in a sailing vessel; nevertheless the singers decided to risk it, and opened the first of several annual seasons here on September 28, 1827 in a comic opera, Boieldeau's "Little Red Riding Hood." The company was classed as third rate, and not only sang opera, but gave vaudeville, farce and drama, all in French. The operatic works presented were of the better class of comic operas by such composers as Boieldeau, Auber, Gretry and Nicolo, and during this first visit it presented for the first time in America, Caraffa's "La Solitaire." Nicolo's "Cendrillon," sung on the closing night of the season, was the first of several operatic versions of the famous old fairy tale of Cinderella to be heard here, the last of which, Massenet's, featured Mary Garden as the Prince a few years ago.

The evident success of the French Company inspired Francis C. Wemyss, manager of the Chestnut, to take another flyer in opera. Charles E. Horn, a tenor of high standing and considerable experience in Grand Opera abroad, was approached with a proposition. Horn was to organize an opera company and give a season at the Chestnut on a "fifty-fifty" basis. Several performances were given, but the public was apathetic, and both lost money. This unfortunate outcome resulted in a marked chilliness arising between the manager and the impressario and singer, and Horn's "grouch" grew in proportion as the attendance shriveled. He was overheard to make remarks to the effect that there was something rotten in the box-office Denmark, which remark was promptly repeated to Wemyss, who already peeved because of his losses,

tartly replied, without qualifying or tempering phrase, that Horn was a liar, adding certain picturesque and profane embellishments which added materially to the punch. The two came face to face on the stage during a rehearsal, which was immediately suspended while the principals in the affair unburdened themselves. From words they proceeded to action. Mr. Lopez, the prompter, occupied an unfortunate position in No Man's Land between the combatants. Over went the prompt table, while his books and papers went flying in all directions, and his glasses popped from his nose. He tried to act as peacemaker, but a missile hurled by one of the principals with very bad aim caught Lopez behind the ear, toppling him over backward into the orchestra pit, where he landed with a crash and the sound of snapping strings on the bass violin. Upon this the player thereof cursed him roundly and smote him sorely. This was accepted as the signal for battle, and the orchestra players dropped their instruments and with the singers took sides. The battle waged furiously, and no participant enjoyed it more than did Henry Walton, the leading baritone, who in his time had been a professional pugilist, and thus found an opportunity to display his especial talents. Hostilities did not cease until Horn, badly battered, admitted his defeat. He promptly swore out a warrant for Wemyss's arrest and the manager was haled before His Honor, the Mayor, and held in $1000 bail to keep the peace. Thus ended one season of Grand Opera.

Peace came later, however, and Horn and Wemyss patched up their differences. In May, 1829, Horn essayed a brief season of opera in Italian, and it was then that Philadelphia had its first experience with opera in that language, the work being a comic opera, "Trionfa della Musica." Associated with Horn in this venture were Rosich and Angrisani and Madames Brichta and Feron. But the season failed. In fact,

even the drama was in such a bad state that season that nearly every manager went bankrupt. Wemyss attributed this distressing condition to the "star" system, and asserted his belief that a good ensemble was far better than one great player and a mediocre support. In this I fully agree with him.

On May 18, 1830, the stock company of the Walnut Street Theatre presented for the first time on any stage a comic opera entitled "Justina," written by the musical director of the theatre, John Clements. The performance was conducted by Benjamin C. Cross, one of the city's foremost conductors and musicians, and father of that other eminent conductor Michael Cross, who is no doubt remembered by some who are here tonight. "Justina" was not a success, and was soon shelved forever.

It was not until January 1833 that Philadelphia had its first opportunity to hear opera properly sung by artists who confined their attention exclusively to Grand Opera. This company was the Montresor troupe, which opened January 23d at the Chestnut in Mercadante's "Eliza e Claudio." In the company were such artists as Henrietta Salvioni, Adelaide Pedrotti, Lorenza Marozzi, Teresa Verducci, Giuseppe Corsetti, Giovanni Montresor, Luciano Fornasari and Francesco Sapignoli. The conductor was Antonio Bagioli. The operas sung were, in addition to the one named, Bellini's "The Pirates," Rossini's "Italians in Algiers," just revived this season by the Metropolitan Opera Company, and the same composer's "Cenerentola," "Otello" and "Moses in Egypt." The latter was given in oratorio form in Musical Fund Hall.

In the companies presenting opera in English at this period the leading singers were John Sinclair, a tenor formerly of Covent Garden, for whom Rossini wrote the part of Idreno in "Semiramide," Mr. and Mrs. Henry H. Rowbotham, Miss Hughes and G. Westervelt

Walstein. Sinclair's daughter became the wife of Edwin Forrest, whose unfortunate experience with the lady led him to divorce her. This company was well supported in productions of "Fra Diavolo," "Der Freischuetz," "Masaniello," and a version of Cinderella which held popular favor for more than thirty years. It was an English version by Rophino and DeLacy, and all the music was Rossini's, being taken from his "Armida," "Marmetto," "Secondo," "Cenerentola" and "William Tell."

The fall of 1833 was marked by the advent of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Wood. Both had been members of the Covent Garden forces in London, and had won wide fame. Mrs. Wood had been a Miss Paton, and her musical accomplishments attracted the attention of the Duke of Cumberland, son of George III and brother of the Prince Regent, later George IV, while she was still a child. Under his patronage she pursued her musical career and after her debut in opera she became the bride of Lord Lennox and was accepted in London's most exclusive social circles. As Lady Lennox she continued to sing, and all was serene until the handsome tenor, Wood, joined the company. The frequent sight of their stage love making so aroused his Lordship's ire that he became gloomy, then abusive, and at last sought satisfaction by knocking his wife down with a savage blow in the face with his fist. Naturally they immediately separated and a divorce followed, after which she became the wife of Wood.

In marked contrast with the aristocratic career of his wife, Wood, who was the son of a cattle dealer in a small town, went to London and sought a means of livelihood. He was an athlete and trained boxer, and for a time made a few pounds by appearing in the ring. But his companions in this questionable business were distasteful to him, and as a last resort he became a cab driver, adding to his income by singing in Lon-

don's "Free and Easies." Some actors hearing him sing brought him to the attention of one of London's best teachers, and under his instruction Wood soon blossomed forth as an opera singer.

For several years the Woods were strong drawing cards in opera here, and during their numerous visits introduced several operas new to this city, among them "La Sonnambula," one of the most successful operas ever heard here. It was first sung by the Woods February 11, 1836, and created such a furore that it ran nightly until the 26th, and was frequently sung thereafter. The success of Mrs. Wood as Amina was so pronounced that Thomas Sully was engaged to paint a portrait of her in the rôle. For this he received $660. Some time later Mrs. Wood attached it for salary due her, and eventually it came into the possession of the Musical Fund Society, which still has it. The eventual retirement of the Woods from the Philadelphia stage was made under a cloud, although the resentment of the public did not extend to Mrs. Wood.

The Montresor Troupe had been wrecked in New York, and it was succeeded by the Rivafiroli Troupe, which paid us a visit in April, 1834. This company had acquired some members of Montresor's, and in addition brought Raviglia, DeRosa, Orlandini and Luigia Bordogni, Rosa and Clementina Fanti and Madame Schneider-Marancelli. The company after an engagement at the Chestnut, moved to the Walnut and continued its season. It followed in Montresor's footsteps and went to disaster in New York.

On January 28, 1836, the Woods produced for the first time in Philadelphia John Barnett's "The Mountain Sylph," which has the distinction of having been the first English opera written in the Italian style, with recitative taking the place of the spoken dialogue. This opera was performed five times here before its final local retirement.

We have noted the introduction of gas in the Chestnut Street Theatre in 1816. When the new theatre was built in 1822 on the site of its fire ruins, a new gas plant was not installed, the house reverting back to the oil lamps of former days. The public had occasionally complained of them, particularly when Garcia sang there in 1826, at which time there was an emphatic demand for the restoration of gas. This was not accomplished, however, until the fall of 1837, when Wemyss, who had recovered the lesseeship of the House during the summer, again lighted it with gas. He was also the lessee of the Walnut at that time, and desired to make the same improvement there, which privilege was granted him by the stockholders only after he had consented to an increase of $1000 in his annual rent. Incidentally, it may be said that Wemyss paid $9000 a year for the Chestnut, then the most fashionable theatre in the city, and the principal home of Grand Opera.

In 1839 came the Seguins, Edward and Anne, who for years dominated the operatic stage. With them the first season was Jane Shireff and Alexander Wilson. Miss Shireff was an exceptionally beautiful young woman and an admirable artist, and Wilson, one of the best tenors heard here up to that time. He looked upon Miss Shireff as his ward, and was so devoted to her interests that thanks to his kindly advice she was able to return to England with a small fortune. There she married and retired. The Seguins, after years of success fell upon evil days and did not die in affluence. The name faded from programs for a few seasons, then appeared again, but the new Edward Seguin was their son, and while popular, was never the artist his father was. Soon after he began his career he married a charming young contralto named Zelda Harrison, and as Zelda Seguin she won wide fame and kept the name before the public until the early eighties.

The east half of the site of the Continental Hotel was

formerly occupied by Cooke's Circus, which gave way to the National Theatre in 1840. William E. Burton was the first lessee and he engaged a very powerful stock company with which to compete with his rivals. It was there that Charlotte Cushman appeared as Fenella. There also Henrietta Sontag, one of the world's truly great singers, gave a season of opera only a little while before her tragic death in Mexico.

Burton was an old crab. He hated to have anyone get ahead of him in any production, and on several occasions had frantically thrown together an opera or a play which he boldly offered in rivalry to the real thing elsewhere. He was doing very well at the National, and eventually offered a dazzling spectacle entitled the "Naiad Queen," in which Miss Cushman led the Amazon march. The piece was immensely successful and bid fair to break all local records for the length of its run. All was going smoothly when Burton heard that the Woods, at the Chestnut, planned to produce "Norma," an English version having been prepared for them by Joseph Fry, who had already translated Donizetti's "Anna Bolena" for the local stage. The Woods had the complete score and orchestration, correct scene and costume designs and the official prompt book. Burton had nothing. But he managed to acquire a few of the published numbers of the opera, hurried his company into rehearsing a "Norma" which he speedily invented, and casting aside the money-making "Naiad Queen" in the full flood of its popularity, opened with his imitation "Norma" the same night the genuine opera was presented at the Chestnut. The result of the rivalry, says Durang, "was the most profound failure in the annals of opera," and both Burton at the National and Robert C. Maywood at the Chestnut, went bankrupt.

Wood demanded his money from Maywood, and as that unfortunate gentleman was unable to hand it over,

withdrew, with his wife, and declined to sing again, thus breaking up the company and depriving Maywood of an opportunity to recover at least some of his losses. They quit the night before Mrs. Bailey's benefit. Mrs. Wood, however, feeling that she owed the usual courtesy to a sister artist, offered her services for a concert for the benefit of Mrs. Bailey; but Wood's arbitrary action in leaving the Chestnut in the lurch had caused so much popular antagonism that the concert was not given, and the Woods left not only the city, but the country, forever. Wemyss says that Wood left numerous unpaid notes behind him, which further aroused public ire against him. But he also says that the singer lost most of his savings, which were invested in United States Bank stock, when that institution failed, hence it was fifty-fifty.

It was Burton who, in this first company at the National Theatre, introduced to Philadelphia a man who quickly established himself in popular favor, and who held it for many years, Peter Richings. It was Peter to whom Maywood flashed the S. O. S. after the failure of "Norma," and who, quickly responding, assumed charge of the Chestnut and brought back some measure of prosperity. He had so much faith in "Norma" that he revived it with the Seguins June 7, 1841, and eight performances of the opera were given to crowded houses before the close of the season.

In the fall of 1844 Burton made a fresh start as the manager of the Arch Street Theatre, but while he changed his house he could not change his nature. The Seguins, during the summer, while in England, had obtained the rights to Balfe's opera, "The Bohemian Girl," and arranged for an elaborate production at the Chestnut. At once Burton planned to forestall his rivals. He did not have the score, nor could he obtain it; but he bought such of the vocal numbers as were on sale, attended a performance in New York during which

he made copious notes, and with these, wrote a "Bohemian Girl" of his own, which by dint of tremendous exertion he produced December 16, 1844. It ran all the week, at the end of which, on Saturday evening, December 21st, the genuine opera was produced at the Chestnut in splendid style and put an immediate end to Burton's effort. "The Bohemian Girl" scored heavily, and indeed, today holds the Philadelphia record for popularity, no fewer than 376 performances of it having been given before our first operatic century closed.

But before this season closed America entered the world's musical history with its first Grand Opera, "Leonora." This work, written by Joseph Fry, translator of "Anna Bolena" and "Norma," and composed by his brother William, was sung by the Seguins Company at the Chestnut Street Theatre June 4, 1845, and nightly until June 17. The cast who appeared in this first American Grand Opera was:

Leonora	Anne Seguin
Mariana	Emma Ince
Montalvo	Edward Seguin
Julio	John J. Frazer
Valdor	Peter Richings
Alferez	Mr. Brunton
Conductor	A. Schmidt

"Leonora" was based on "The Lady of Lyons," and was received with favor by critics generally. While very far from perfect there is some excellent musical material in the score, and Mr. Fry supplied a very conventional plot.

Wemyss says in his "Recollections:" "Had Mr. Fry selected New York instead of Philadelphia for the first field of his operations, the whole United States would have teemed with praises—praises long and loud would have greeted the eye of the composer from all quarters. The sin he committed was daring to present the first lyrical drama ever composed in America to the citizens of Philadelphia before the New Yorkers had an oppor-

tunity of passing on its merits. Should it be played in Europe, how altered will be public opinion in its favor here. Mr. Fry may plume upon it as a work of art, to be proudly cherished. Of Mrs. Seguin's performance of Leonora, I can only say that it was the most perfect thing I have ever seen."

And it may be said that Philadelphia has not changed in this respect in seventy-five years. It is still customary to look coldly upon local effort, and to accept nothing until other countries or other cities have given it the stamp of approval.

The reckless guessing by Philadelphia's critics last Wednesday as to the chronology of Halevy's "La Juive" makes it worth while to note actual dates here. This opera was first performed in Philadelphia at the Chestnut Street Theatre on October 9, 1845, by the French Company from New Orleans, with Mme. Calve as "Rachel," Arnaud as "Eleazar," Mme. Cassini as the Princess and Douvry as the Cardinal. It was conducted by Eugene Prosper Prevost. The last performance of the opera here prior to last Tuesday night was by the Hinrichs Company in the Academy of Music, January 26, 1896, with Mme. Selma Koert-Kronold as "Rachel," Amelia Loventz as "Eudoxia," Henri Prevost as "Eleazar," Brizio Piroia as "Leopold," and Marius Malzac as the Cardinal, with Hinrichs conducting.

Another distinguished Italian company paid us a visit in the midsummer of 1847. This was the Havana Opera Company, of which the proprietor was Don Francisco Marty y Torrens. This gentleman is said to have been the father of profiteers. He is said to have owned the fish monopoly of Cuba, and exacted tribute from every partaker of this sea food. It is whispered that he was also interested in the slave trade, and had numerous other enterprises, all of which were extremely profitable. As wealth piled up he was stung

by the impressarial bee, and proceeded to organize a company to sing Grand Opera. At once there was a popular outcry in Havana. It was looked upon almost as sacrilege for this sordid money-grubber to carry his activities into the world of art. The attitude of the public so peeved the amiable Marty that he announced his intention of giving opera for his own exclusive entertainment; that they could all go to Mozambique or elsewhere, as no tickets would be sold. This attitude resulted in such a demand at the box office that his Grand Opera venture proved as profitable as his others.

One or two things made this company's appearance notable. First, it introduced to us that famous conductor, Luigi Arditi, who half a century later was still conducting for our pleasure. And during this engagement, July 14, 1847, the company gave the American premiere of Verdi's "Ernani," which was also the first time that Philadelphia had heard a work by this composer. The prima donna of the company was Fortunata Tedesco, and other prominent artists with it were Teresa Ranieri, Theodorinda Gerli, Juan B. Severi, Luis Bataglina, Natale Perelli, Pietro Novelli, Carantina de Vita and Luigi Perozzi. Novelli, a very fine basso, took a keen interest in the city's affairs. At that time there was much discussion of the project of the Society of the Cincinnati to erect a monument or statue to George Washington. The statue, as you know, was eventually erected many years later at the Green Street entrance to Fairmount Park. But in 1847 the form the memorial should take as well as the location, were subjects of general discussion. Novelli gave the subject much serious thought, and at length evolved an idea which he lost no time in making public. He suggested a marble statue of the Father of his Country, with Diogenes opposite, holding a lantern so that its rays would fall upon the statue and form the words, "Behold, I have found an Honest Man."

Perelli, a fine tenor, was induced by Pierce Butler to remain and make Philadelphia his home. He opened a studio and according to Armstrong, "did more to improve the taste and extend the knowledge of vocal music than all the teachers who preceded him."

The local advent of the famous Patti family occurred in 1848 when, on February 19th the Sanquerico and Patti Company opened for a season at the Chestnut Street Theatre. In this company were Salvatore Patti, tenor, his wife, Caterina Barili Patti, soprano, and Amalia Patti, their daughter, who later become the wife of Maurice Strakosch. Madame Patti, by her first husband had two sons, Nicolo and Ettore, both of whom were successful in opera, and Ettore eventually made Philadelphia his home, teaching singing here until his death. By her second marriage she had three daughters. The other two were Carlotta, whose lameness, it is said, was all that prevented her from becoming the greatest opera singer of her time, and Adelina, who was to become the most famous of them all, and who so recently passed away.

The Sanquerico and Patti Company gave four performances of Donizetti's "Gemma di Vergy" and then failed. It was announced that the house would be closed "for purposes of rehearsal," and that the Signora Biscaccianti had been specially engaged. She was a Boston girl, a superb artist, but so frail appearing, according to chroniclers of the time, that the audience was always apprehensive of a collapse during the performance. When the company resumed March 1st, Sanquerico and Patti had disappeared, and Sesto Benedetti appeared as leading tenor, Teresa Truffi as coprima donna, Lietti Rossi, contralto, Avignone as principal baritone and others. The reorganized company kept up a losing struggle until March 24th when after a performance of Mercadante's "Il Guaramento," it went to pieces again. But with a pluck that commands

admiration the company was again reorganized and on June 4th made its third bid for support, with "la Sonnambula." The third crash came June 13th. But these valiant souls refused to accept defeat. For the fourth time it marshalled its forces, with more changes, and engaged Arditi as conductor, and his inseparable "pal," Giovanni Bottesini, acclaimed the world's greatest contra-bass player. To propitiate the jinx the company moved from the Chestnut to the Walnut Street Theatre, and tempted fate again on August 14th. Between acts there were duets by Bottesini and Arditi, the latter playing the violin, and opera nights were interspersed with concerts. But when after its performance of "The Barber of Seville" on August 26th there still remained an absence of metallic jingle in the money bags, the company collapsed for the fourth time and abandoned further effort.

But we were not to be without Italian opera. There was a third brother in the Fry family, Edward. Edward was devoted to commercial pursuits, but he had a profound belief that brother William was the greatest composer, and brother Joseph the greatest librettist in the world, and that only the prejudice of managers kept them in the background. So he determined to organize the best opera company in America, with the ultimate object of specializing on his brothers' operas. We have to thank Edward for Max Maretzek, who was a central figure in our operatic world for forty years. Edward lived in New York, and from the time the Herald adversely criticised "Leonora," had no use whatever for that newspaper. Hence, when he was ready with his company he announced that no tickets would be given to it. This so aroused the indignation of the elder James Gordon Bennett that he set out to get Edward's scalp. In this he eventually obtained assistance from members of Fry's company.

Fry had engaged Mme. Truffi and Benedetti, the

lady's principal adorer and later her husband, the Pattis, Sanquerico, buffo basso, Valtelina, and other artists of the highest standard. But when he learned that Sanquerico and Patti and their associates had refused to sing "Leonora" he was going to fire them forthwith, but was deterred by Maretzek. Suspicious of Truffi, however, he also engaged Rosine Laborde, the Belgian prima donna, much to the fair Teresa's disgust. In fact, Madame Truffi was so upset by it that when she appeared as "Norma" upon the opening of the season on October 5, 1848, at the Chestnut she broke down after singing "Casta Diva," and the performance was brought to a sudden end. Her breakdown was variously explained, but the consensus of opinion was that it was an aggravated case of artistic temperament. The fact that Madame Laborde proved to be an infinitely greater singer did not tend to soothe her, and in her pettish actions she was encouraged by Benedetti, in whose eyes his Queen could do no wrong. Nor was this feeling softened by the fact that when on December 12th her rival sang "Norma," in which she had made such a failure, the Belgian created a furore and inspired one critic to write:

"All the music of the part was given without mutilation or alteration save to add some cadenzas which but served to enrich it. Her Casta Diva was given with the most perfect effect; in grace, passion and expression we have never heard it surpassed."

Fry gave us two months of splendid opera, during which period he made no attempt to offer any of his brother's compositions; but in spite of their merit, Fry lost money steadily. Upon the conclusion of his Philadelphia season he took the company to the Astor Place Opera House, New York. There the Herald had better opportunities of getting at him, and unleashed its batteries on poor Fry with telling effect. Benedetti took occasion to insult Madame Laborde in full view of the

audience during a performance of "Ernani." This interrupted the performance, and all adjourned to the Green Room to thresh the matter out. At last the fiery tenor whipped out his sword and threatened to bore Fry full of holes with it, whereupon the company immediately ended its career, and with it the impressarial experience of Edward P. Fry.

Peter Richings was a bachelor. Among his friends were Mr. and Mrs. Reynoldson, the former a newspaper man and adapter of plays. They died, leaving a baby daughter, Caroline, who had so entwined herself around his bachelor heart that Peter adopted her, and as Caroline Richings she was destined to win high place on the operatic stage. She made her debut in Philadelphia as Marie in "The Daughter of the Regiment" February 9, 1852, and this ever remained her favorite part. For some years her operatic appearances were with the Walnut Street Theatre stock company, with which she also appeared in dramatic performances. In November, 1867, she became the wife of Pierre Bernard, an operatic tenor. This gifted singer died of small-pox in Richmond, Virginia, in 1882, and the Richmond correspondent of a Philadelphia newspaper, in his report of her funeral said that a mocking bird that had escaped from its cage in a distant part of the city, perched on the limb of a tree above her grave and kept up a constant song during the service. Then it flew back to its cage. A very pretty yarn, but I am inclined to think the reporter who wrote it was blessed with a very vivid and poetic imagination.

About this time opera enthusiasts began to discuss the advisability of erecting a new and adequate home for opera. The old Chestnut was on the wane, and the National and other theatres were inadequate for the lavishness in opera that the public was beginning to demand. As early as 1851 a meeting had been held to discuss the project, and this meeting was followed by

others and the plans began to take definite shape. At last a committee was formed to obtain subscriptions for the building, which was to be called the American Academy of Music. This committee was made up of men whose names have been closely identified with much that is best in the city's history. They were Joseph R. Ingersoll, George M. Dallas, John M. Scott, Henry D. Gilpin, Charles Henry Fisher, Joseph Swift, Robert Morris, John Rea Barton, J. Price Wetherill, George Cadwalader, Edward S. Buckley, J. V. S. De Haviland, Charles Harlan, Charles Wells, Hartman Kuhn, Jr., Aubrey H. Smith, Charles E. Smith, George McHenry, George H. Boker, Emlen Physick, William Parker Foulke, James C. Fisher, James McMurtrie, Frederick Lennig, Gideon C. Westcott, John Kearsley Mitchell, John B. Myers, J. Pemberton Hutchinson, John H. Hugenell and John Siter. John B. Budd was president of the Board of Directors.

Ground was broken June 18, 1855, and July 26th of the same year the corner stone was laid with imposing ceremonies, a feature of which was an address by the scholarly Mayor Robert T. Conrad. The Academy of Music was opened with a series of promenade concerts beginning January 26, 1857. On February 24th the Maennerchor Musical Society gave a fancy dress ball in it, and the building was formally opened and dedicated the following night, February 25, 1857, with a performance of "Trovatore," in which Marietta Gazzaniga sang "Leonora," Zoe Aldoni, "Azucena," Pasquale Brignoli "Manrico," Alessandro Amodio the Count and Domenico Coletti, "Ferrando," with Max Maretzek in the conductor's chair. A poem, written expressly for the occasion by Mayor Conrad, was read from the stage by Caroline Richings. It is interesting to note that the scale of prices ranged from 25 cents to $1.50, with, however, an additional charge for what was called a "secured" seat.

The history of the Academy of Music would fill a book in itself. Its advent marked a new era in opera here. The days of stock companies were numbered, and opera was becoming more and more a specialized institution. For half a century and a little more this House was to hold undisputed sway as the Home of Opera, even though many performances were given elsewhere.

Adelina Patti's first appearance here in opera was in the Academy December 8, 1859, when although not yet seventeen years old she sang brilliantly the rôle of "Lucia." This wonderful little lady in her long career sang before many kings and queens and princes and dukes, but it is rather curious to recall that her first appearance before royalty was in this democratic city of Philadelphia, birthplace of our great Republic, the city in which it was first proclaimed to the world that all men were free and equal, and that kings were only common clay. This important event in Patti's life, and which was also an important incident in the history of opera in Philadelphia, occurred on October 10, 1860, in the Academy, when Royalty was personified by Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII of England. That night, at the Prince's request, "Martha," his favorite opera, was sung, with the youthful Adelina as "Lady Harriet," Fanny Heron Natali as "Nancy," Pasquale Brignoli, a tenor who sang for us for thirty years, as "Lionel" and Carl Formes, for whom the part was written, as "Plunkett." In addition to "Martha," the company also offered the first act of "La Traviata," with Pauline Colson as Violetta and Errani as Alfred.

The visit of Carl Anschutz's German company in the fall of 1863 was noteworthy in many ways, but chiefly because on November 18th the company gave the first performance in America of Gounod's "Faust." The part of Marguerite was sung by Marie Friederici;

Faust by Franz Himmer; Mephistopheles by Anton Graff; Valentine by Heinrich Steinecke and Siebel by John Farley, a young Philadelphia tenor. Ever since this and the performance a few nights later this part has been sung by a woman. In private life Madame Friederici was Mrs. Himmer. Her husband was not only a distinguished tenor, but he was also an eminent scientist and Doctor of Medicine, carrying honorary degrees from several universities. They were the parents of Hans Himmer, whom many of you will remember as one of the 'cellists of the Philadelphia Orchestra. Poor Hans! He went to Germany to visit his mother in the summer of 1914. There he was caught in the maelstrom of war. As a German subject he was seized, draped in a green-gray uniform, loaded with some seventy pounds of murderous equipment and sent to the trenches. In 1915 he was severely wounded by a shell, and sent home. His devoted mother nursed him long and carefully, and at last brought him back to some degree of health. This much news of him filtered through the rim of bayonets, and then our own entrance into the war brought oblivion of all things German.

"Faust" seems to really belong to Philadelphia, for it was here that the opera was first sung in its entirety on this side of the Atlantic, and here was first sung in America "Dio Possente" and Siebel's second aria. "Dio Possente" was written after the first London production, for Charles Santley, the great English baritone, and it was he who, as a member of the Parepa Rosa Company, first sang it for us. It is pleasant to know that this fine artist now, at the age of eighty-six years, is still living and in excellent health.

In the fall of 1876 the Strakosch Company gave one of its regular seasons here. The conductor was the late Siegfried Behrens. One of the operas announced was "Semiramide," which was scheduled for the evening of December 19th. The day before the conductor

was horrified to find, on looking over his music, that the band parts were missing, and he was in dire distress. He imparted his woes to his friend, Mark Hassler, conductor of the new Chestnut Street Theatre Orchestra. Hassler told him to cheer up. "I have a bright young violinist in my orchestra," he said, "who is excellent at arranging music. Let him take your conductor's score and write out the band parts from that."

"But," protested Behrens, "I have a rehearsal of the opera at 10 o'clock, and must have them then."

"You'll get them," assured Hassler, and Behrens took a chance.

At 4 o'clock the next morning while the genial musical director was slumbering peacefully in his home, 715 Locust Street, he was aroused by a ringing of the door bell and banging on the door. Poking his head out the window, his teeth chattering in the cold September night air, he saw a young man on the step.

"What do you want?" He demanded.

"I have your band parts here, Mr. Behrens," replied the youth.

"All right, good night," snapped the conductor, and slamming the window shut he sought warmth in his bed again. The young musician walked sadly away as it dawned on him how foolish he had been to awaken a harassed conductor at 4 o'clock to tell him something that could just as well wait until 10. The chief interest in this little anecdote lies in the fact that the inconsiderate youth was John Philip Sousa.

Mapleson began his famous opera seasons in America in 1879, and brought with him from season to season some of the greatest singers in the world, among whom those who shone with exceptional brilliance were Adelina Patti, Etelka Gerster, Christine Nilsson, Marie Marimon, Emma Fursch-Madi, Louise Dotti, Lillian Nordica, Sofia Scalchi, Annie Louise Cary, Ravelli, Giannini, Foli, Galassi, Italo Companini, Giuseppe Del

Puente and many others. Del Puente eventually settled in Philadelphia, and was a resident until his death.

While many foreign companies had visited Philadelphia, most of our opera had been sung in English, but English singing companies were gradually being crowded out. Americans were given few chances, and even when they did reach the operatic stage it was only by way of Europe, and they were compelled to sing in foreign tongues. But in 1886 there was a valiant effort made to establish opera in English by a first-class company, in the establishment of the American, sometimes called the National Opera Company. Charles E. Locke was Manager, Theodore Thomas General Musical Director, and his associate conductor was Gustav Hinrichs, to whom we were to owe so much in the years to come. But owing, it it said, to bad business methods, this company, after a brief but stormy career collapsed. Mr. Hinrichs reorganized it as his own, and with it opened the Grand Opera House on April 9, 1888, with "Tannhaeuser." As the building was constructed and owned by a brewer, this selection seems rather appropriate. That night the building was not finished, and Alfred Hoegerle, now so well known to us as the manager of the Metropolitan Opera House, who presided in the box office, had only a rough table upon which his tickets were spread, and was forced to sell them by candle light. This performance began a series of summer seasons of opera in the Grand Opera House which continued until 1896, and during this period Philadelphians had the opportunity of obtaining an operatic education never offered them before or since. Yet it was wholly a labor of love, for only one of all these seasons showed a small balance on the right side of the ledger.

But Mr. Hinrichs achieved much. Under his energetic direction Philadelphia witnessed the first

American performances of "Cavalleria Rusticana," "L'Amico Fritz," "Sigurd," "The Pearl Fishers," "Hansel and Gretel" and Puccini's "Manon Lescaut." And in the production of the last named work Philadelphians were honored by being the first in the United States to hear an opera by this composer.

Following the spring season of 1895 the late Mrs. Charles S. Whelen started a movement to establish opera at the Academy as a permanent institution. She wrote five hundred letters to as many persons soliciting their subscriptions, and thus obtained a guarantee fund of $50,000. Among her first subscribers was Mr. E. T. Stotesbury, who was years later to become the leading factor in keeping and sustaining opera here, and whose public spirit has been shown in his investment of several hundred thousand dollars in the enterprise with no possibility of financial return. Mrs. Whelen induced the directors of the Academy to instal the double horseshoe of boxes, the only ones prior to that time being the proscenium. Mr. Hinrichs was engaged as director and organized a new company, which sang the following season. Then came Walter Damrosch. Miss Elise Willing Balch, who had taken an active part with Mrs. Whelen, became a leader in the enterprise, and with her in pushing plans for future seasons was Miss Edith L. Hutchinson, now Mrs. Edward W. Burt. These two devoted women, by untiring effort, established the succeeding seasons for several years. Damrosch directed the season of 1896–7, but gave such a preponderance of German opera that there was energetic protest, and Charles A. Ellis became associated with him for the season of 1897–98. Still there was too much German opera, and Ellis alone assumed control for 1898–99. The performance of "Carmen," February 11, 1899, which ended his local direction of opera, was marked with a series of accidents almost without parallel.

It was an afternoon performance. The weather was

extremely cold, and in a biting wind the people who had gone to the Academy to witness it stood outside and shivered until five minutes after the time for the curtain to rise, marvelling at the delay, and expressing themselves in various ways. Once in the building they learned that the train which brought the company from New York was three hours late. When it at last arrived it was discovered that the car containing the costumes and orchestra parts had by some oversight, been left behind. In response to a telegram to New York the music was shipped on a later train. Arrangements were made with a Philadelphia costumer to outfit the company, and William, Parry the stage manager, went before the curtain and begged the indulgence of the audience in his characteristic and engaging way.

Assistant Manager Heck of the company, hired a wagon and met the train at West Philadelphia. With his precious bundle of music safely in the wagon, he ordered the driver to smash all speed laws in getting to the Academy. The driver tried so faithfully to obey that he broke the wagon instead, the vehicle collapsing before it had gotten far on its journey. Mr. Heck, using language suitable to the occasion, obtained another wagon and completed his journey without further mishap. But it was not until quarter past four o'clock that Mr. Seppilli, the conductor, raised his baton to start the overture.

Then came the Metropolitan Opera Company, with whom the opera guarantors arranged to succeed these local enterprises, and organized opera was made a perpanent institution.

In 1903 Patti made her disastrous Farewell tour, in concert. She sang in the Academy November 9, 1893. Old timers went to hear again the singer they had worshipped in their younger days, and young folk went to listen to a woman whose fame had long been dinned into their ea[illegible] elders. But the marvelous voice

was gone. Some of the tones were apparently unmarred by age, but at times the woman of 1903 shrieked where the diva of twenty years before had poured forth golden melody. She was announced for another concert February 24, 1904, but her tour had been disastrous, and when she reached Philadelphia a suit for salary by her 'cellist brought it to an end. The concert was cancelled, and Patti never sang again on this side of the Atlantic.

The next important event in local operatic annals was the entrance of Oscar Hammerstein in his daring warfare against the long-established and solidly entrenched Metropolitan Opera House. He dared many things. He dared to cross the Market Street Rubicon and establish his new House and company at Broad and Poplar Streets, more than a mile north of the recognized center of operatic activity. He opened his house, which was to wrest supremacy away from the Academy on November 17, 1908, with "Carmen." The career of this House, and the two tempestuous seasons of the redoubtable Oscar are too recent to review here, as they are well known to all Philadelphians. Since 1914 the Metropolitan Opera Company has held undisputed sway.

In the course of these hundred years the style of operatic composition has changed. New instruments have been introduced and new orchestral effects invented. Only a few weeks ago a typewriter was used in the orchestra in a London production. Modern composers have gotten further and further away from the set aria, and spoken dialogue was long ago cast into the discard. Probably the most drastic departure from operatic form is that of Rimsky-Korsokov in his bizarre ballet-pantomime-opera, "Le Coq d'Or."

And yet some of these fine old operas still defy time and the attacks of modernists. "Don Giovanni," our first opera, was heard here as recently as February 21, 1914; our second opera, "The Barber of Seville" is in

the current repertoire, and our third, "Der Freischuetz," was sung here May 9, 1913, and its shelving after that was due to war and the temporary eclipse of German opera. Probably seventy per cent. of the operas that have been sung here, however, will never be heard again.

The time was when several first class companies contended for patronage from season to season, and prospered. True, their productions were not as lavish as those we witness today at the Metropolitan Opera House, but they satisfied, and Grand Opera had a strong and growing clientele. But they gave opera in English and could be understood. With the passing of time opera in English has undergone a process of strangulation and instead of its elevating influence being felt by the great public, thanks to the domination of foreign directors, the American people are being brought up on the drivel of so-called "follies" and dramatic art is dying in the grasp of moving pictures. And the art of Song itself is in peril through the modern habit of composers of Grand Opera in telling their stories in orchestration, with the voice as a secondary consideration.

I close my paper with a plea for opera in English, for the American singer and the American teacher; and for a patriotism on the part of the American people which will be shown not only in their willingness to go forth to battle for the old Flag, but in their exploitation and encouragement of their own artists. Will not Philadelphia point the way?

THE DESCENDANTS OF SARAH HOLME, DAUGHTER OF THOMAS HOLME.

U. S. Navy Yard.
League Island Pa.
February 22, 1920.

To the Editor of Pennsylvania Magazine:

Looking through Volume XVIII Pennsylvania Magazine for the year 1894–95, I encountered an advertisement requesting information concerning the descendants of Richard Holcomb, who married Sarah Holme the daughter of Thomas Holme, who laid the plan for the City of Philadelphia.

This advertisement I have learned was inserted by the late Mr. Oliver Hough when he was collecting material for his article on Thomas Holme, Penn's Surveyor-General, which article continued through several numbers of the Pennsylvania Magazine.

The will of Thomas Holme contained the following item:

> "Item.—I give and bequeath unto the children of Richard Holcomb by my daughter Sarah, the sum of thirty pounds to be paid of the thousand acres of land next beyond Hilltowne of this countie upon the said lands are sold."

It is evident that Mr. Hough did not succeed in obtaining the information he sought, as though he deals with descendants of other children of Thomas Holme, he states that it is not known if Sarah Holme or her children ever came to America. This statement has been repeatedly copied in various monographs relating to

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT HOLCOMB'S

Thomas Holme, or of Holmesburg, or in genealogical works such as the Crispin family.

The will of Thomas Holme, now on file at the City Hall is in a ragged and mutilated condition. If any inventory or accounting was ever made of the estate by the sole executor, Silas Crispin, it is now missing. Consequently it is impossible to tell by this means in just what manner the executor made settlement with the children of Richard Holcomb of the one thousand acres in Hilltowne.

Hilltowne was later known as Abington. The "thousand acres of land next beyond Hilltowne" was a part of a tract of 2500 acres that Holme purchased from Samuel Clarridge (then residing in Ireland) the deed dated May 18 1686 (E5 p 528 Phila. Co.) this tract is shown on Thomas Holmes map of 1686 lying to the northward of the Squehanna Road, labeled "Samuel Clarridge" and lying between the land of "Silas Crispin" and "Perce & Comp." The total amount of land covered in the deed is 5000 acres and the sum paid for all this land by Holme was fifty-seven pounds, nine shillings.

The Holcomb children came to Hilltowne or Abington shortly before the year of 1700. There were two brothers, Jacob and John Holcombe. They were both born in Tierton, Devonshire, England and their father Richard Holcomb died while they were young. Both of their parents being Friends they were brought up in this sect, and throughout their lives in America both are identified as prominent and consistent members of the Abington, Falls, and Buckingham Friends Meetings.

After the death of Richard Holcomb, Sarah (Holme) Holcomb, married John Hurford. John Hurford had a son named John by a previous marriage. All of this family came to America and settled in Hilltowne, or Abington as it is now known. One of the early minutes of the Abington meeting notes the marriage of John

Hurford Junior. "28 10mo 1702 A certificate granted John Hurford jun In order to his proceeding on in marriage with one of ye county of Chister" Of this second marriage of Sarah (Holme) Holcomb to John Hurford, Sr. two children were born, namely Grace who married Robert Thomas of North Wales, Gwynedd in 1722 and Samuel Hurford who married Hannah Sermon of Abington in 1731. Samuel had no descendants. By his will (No 118 Book O pg 158 Phila. Co.) dated, "23rd 3mo called March 1765" he gives "sixty pounds to be divided between all the children of my half brother John Hurford" and the bulk of his estate including his silver watch, silver shoe buckles, silver knee buckles, silver stock buckle, and certain real property to the children of his sister Grace, namely, John Thomas, Samuel Thomas, and "to my nieces husband Lewis Roberts." He also left a legacy to his "kinsman Joseph Hallowell" who married Elizabeth daughter of his half brother Jacob Holcombe. Joseph Hallowell was a descendant of John Hallowell of Abington who 15th 6mo 1696 purchased of Silas Crispin, executor of the estate of Thomas Holme, 630 acres of the land in Hilltowne for 58 pounds 16 shillings. At this date John Hallowell was living in Darby Pa.

John and Sarah Hurford continued to reside at Abington until 1720 when they removed to Buckingham and located on a farm adjoining Jacob Holcombe. Their certificate of removal from Abington meeting is dated "25th of ye 5 1720" they were growing aged and feeble as one might infer from this extract from the Buckingham minutes "6 mo 3 1725. Jacob Holcombe by request of his aged parents John and Sarah Hurford to have an evening meeting at their house by reason of their inability to get to the public meeting place every other first day meeting" And here they still lived in 1726 when the map referred to in Volume I page 256 Davis History of Bucks County

pared, which notes them as residing between the houses of Jacob Holcombe and Mercy Phillips.

About the year of 1700 Jacob Holcombe, one of the children of Richard Holcomb and Sarah (Holme) Holcomb removed to Buckingham township and was one of the early settlers of what is now Solebury Pa. The early records of the township as well as the records of Buckingham meeting testify to his public spirit. He was one of the first ministers of the meeting, the first book of minutes was transcribed in his handwriting and he was one of the committee to build the second meeting house in 1729. He was petitioner and later commissioner to lay out the road now known as the Old York Road and also the road from Solebury along the Delaware. He traveled to England; Connecticut; Rhode Island; Long Island N. Y.; and Maryland on Missions to Friends meetings at those places. A testimonial from Buckingham meeting concerning Jacob Holcombe may be found in the "Collection of Memorials concerning Divers deceased Ministers and others of the People called Quakers etc." published 1787. Jacob married Mary Woolridge of Falls meeting 1712 and had eight children. 1 Thomas who married Hannah Pownall 6mo 3 1741–2 Sarah, (named after his mother) married Thomas Lewis 7 mo. 6 1736; 3 Rebecca; 4 Mary, married Jacob Walton 3mo 1 1749; 5 Elizabeth, married Joseph Hallowell of Philadelphia 4 mo 13 1745; 6 Susanna, married John Van Duren of Gwynedd; 7 Hannah; and 8 Sophia.

Jacob Holcombe and his brother John located on tracts of land on either side of the Delaware along the course of what became the Old York Road and at the crossing which during Revolutionary time was known as Coryells Ferry, but now known as the city of Lambertville on the New Jersey side and New Hope on the Pennsylvania side. I append a photostat of a part of [illegible]aps prepared in 1881–83 by Mr. Walter F.

Hayhurst and the late Mr. Ruben Pownall Ely, both of Lambertville N. J. These maps have an index or title brief cap size of some 200 pages and the originals are owned by the daughters of Mr. Ely now residing in Lambertville.

In addition to the tract of 500 acres, a part of the Heath tract shown on the map, Jacob Holcombe purchased from James Logan 25 March 1709 the two tracts shown in his name, one containing 320 acres, the other 500 acres. These he promptly sold to John Scarborough and at the same time purchased from John Scarborough another tract containing 510 acres, the money consideration in each of these deeds being mentioned as £300 silver money. Jacob Holcombe sold on December 3 1717 to Thomas Canby (who also came from Abington) 444 acres of this 510 acre tract. Jacob had still another tract of 500 acres which was patented to him April 12 1712. He died 30th 6mo 1748. In his will (Bucks Co No 597) he disposes among other items, a silver spoon to his grandson Jacob marked with his fathers initials "R. H." This Jacob was a son of Thomas Holcombe and he married Esther Livesey, daughter of Jonathan and Katherine Livesey of Lower Dublin township 19th 6mo 1768.

The remaining son of Richard Holcomb and Sarah (Holme) Holcomb, named John Holcombe continued to reside at Abington Pa until 1705. On November 16 1705 he purchased of Richard Wilson of Bucks Co Pa., a tract of 350 acres of land on the New Jersey side of the Delaware about opposite to the tract owned by his brother Jacob. He is designated in this deed as "John Holcombe of Abington, county of Philadelphia and Province aforesaid, yeoman" Near the southwestern border of this purchase was later to be the crossing of the York Road from Philadelphia to New York. This purchase was the first of a series of purchases amounting to nearly 1500 acres and shown on the Lambertville

map. He married Elizabeth Woolrich of Abington Meeting "28th ye second mo 1707." John Holcombe was prominent in the affairs of Old Amwell and early Hunterdon County N. J. He was twice a justice of Burlington County before Hunterdon County was set off from it in 1713, having been appointed justice February 14 1710 and March 17 1713. He was one of the first justices of Hunterdon County being a member of the first court which met at Maidenhead N. J. June 14 1714. He served as Freeholder, Overseer of the Poor; Collector; Surveyor of Roads; etc. All his life he lived a consistent member of the Buckingham Friends Meeting and left a legacy to this meeting upon his death. A few years before his death he built a large stone house on the hillside with a commanding view of the river. This house is still standing and was twice used by Washington as his Headquarters while his army was at Coryells Ferry. John Holcombe had six children. 1 John who died in early life unmarried; 2 Samuel born 1711 and who married Eleanor Barber (most of the Holcombes of New Jersey and Pennsylvania are descendants of this Samuel); 3 Grace who married Phillip Calvin; 4 Mary, married Samuel Furman; 5 Julia Ann, married Daniel Howell; 6 Richard named after his grandfather. He was born March 10 1726, was twice married and died 1783.

John Holcombe died August 1743 and lies buried in the ancient plot of the Friends Burying Ground, Lahaska (Buckingham). He has a large number of descendants, now scattered through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa and many other states. The late Ruben Pownall Ely of Lambertville compiled in 1886 a 500 p[illegible] script of over 1600 descendants of J[illegible] first six generations, not half bea[illegible]mbe, but through the female lin[illegible]ld and respected families of N[illegible]ania.

One more matter before closing and that is in reference to the statement made above that the Holcombe house has the distinction of having been twice used by General Washington as his headquarters. I am aware that where he stopped is expressed doubtfully in many quarters. This has seemed to me to be due to the fact that both the Pennsylvania and New Jersey sides of the river were for a time called Coryells Ferry. Today being Washington's birthday, it does not seem amiss to say a few words about this historic crossing.

John Wells, whose tract is shown on the New Hope map next to Jacob Holcombe's, both as parts of a tract patented to R. Heath in 1710, appears to have been operating a ferry here before 1715. There was occassion for a ferry here as "Heaths mill at the ferry" was built in 1707, and the Old York Road was opened from Philadelphia to the Delaware in 1711. This ferry became known as "Wells ferry" and in 1719 the Pennsylvania Assembly passed an act granting to John Wells the privilege of operating a ferry for seven years. This license was renewed in 1726 by the Lieutenant Governor for a further term of seven years. In the year 1733 the proprietaries, John, Thomas, and Richard Penn extended the license for another seven years.

As stated above the York Road was opened to the Delaware in 1711. Gradually the trail had been blazed through the wilderness. In August 1693 the road had been laid out from Philadelphia as far as Cheltenham. By 1697 it was further extended to Mooreland by surveys made by Nicholas Scull. Then on the 27th of January 1710 the inhabitants of Buckingham and Solebury petitioned the council of Pennsylvania for a convenient Road to begin at the Delaware opposite John Reading's landing, from thence the most direct and convenient course to Buckingham meeting house; and thence through the lands of Thomas Watson, by the house of

Stephen Jenkins and Richard Wells, and so forward the most direct and convenient course to Philadelphia. A jury composed of Thomas Watson, John Scarborough, Jacob Holcombe, Nathaniel Bye, Matthew Hughes, Joseph Fell, Samuel Cart, Stephen Jenkins, Thomas Hallowell, Griffith Miles, Job Goodson, and Isaac Norris were to lay out the road and return their report in six months. And this was the extention of the York Road through Pennsylvania, the first crossing at the Delaware being at Reading's Ferry, later called Howell's ferry, and still later Mitchell's ferry. But the traffic early began to split and turn off at Well's ferry four miles below, so that what is known as the York Road in New Jersey begins at Lambertville courses through what is now Mount Airy, Ringoes and Readville to New Brunswick that common meeting point of the various old roads from Burlington and the Falls of the Delaware (now Trenton) for ferrying the Raritan River. This was one of the early wagon roads of the State of New Jersey (not the earliest) and followed an old Indian path. In a deed for land at Ringoes, N. J. dated August 25 1726, this road is described as "the Kings Highway that is called York Road" And so it is called even today.

In the meantime there had settled upon the Jersey side of the river one Samuel Coate the land he settled is described in the deed to John Holcombe as then (1705) belonging to Robert Eaton, "formerly Hugh Howells" Coate seems to have bought the land from Robert Eaton and here he established a ferry which became known as "Coates ferry" No clear brief of the title of this land seems to exist. It was originally a 400 acre tract surveyed to Benjamin Field in 1700. It is alluded to as a Henry Clarks, and as Hugh Howells. On Oct 15 1728 John Coate sold to John Purcell 200 acres of this tract, and on August 4 1732 John Coate then of Bethlehem N. J. sold of John Holcombe 30 acres

of this tract. This deed refers to a post in William Coates and a post in Henry Coates land. John Purcell on Feb. 8 1732 sold his tract to Emanuel Coryell and one of the courses is described as "a post standing by the Kings Road that leads to the Ferry over the aforesaid River Delaware to John Wells." This deed is the first recorded evidence of the coming of Emanuel Coryell to Amwell in West New Jersey. The next year, January 7 1733, King George II granted to his "loving subject" Emanuel Coryell "the sole privilege of keeping a ferry at the place called Coates ferry opposite Wells ferry the Pennsylvania side and three miles up and three miles down the said river Delaware and to his heirs and assigns forever." On the Jersey side a small settlement grew up. Here on a site now the southwest corner of Ferry and Union Sts. Lambertville, Emanuel Coryell built a stone tavern, which after standing about 100 years was torn down shortly before the Civil War. John Coryell the eldest son of Emanuel Coryell in 1760 shortly after the death of his father, bought the Wells ferry property on the Pennsylvania side from the widow of Benjamin Canby, and his tavern like the tavern on the Jersey side was known as Coryells tavern. Thus Elizabeth Drinker in her diary Aug (or Sept.) 1771 speaks of going to Coryells tavern on the York Road where Mr. Drinker was to meet "the commissioners for improving and clearing the navigation of the River." Down to 1770 the ferry was generally known as "Wells ferry" Whether prior to 1760 Emanuel Coryell and John Wells were rival ferrymen or whether they jointly operated under a common interest there is no data at hand to determine.

New Hope took its name from a flour mill which came into possession of the Parrys. Since the days of the Heath mill there had been a mill here and in 1790 the Parry mills caught fire ad burned down. At about this same time, 1790, they bought the mills on the Jersey

side near "Wells falls" known as the Prime Hope mills and when they rebuilt their mills on the Pennsylvania side, they named them New Hope. About these mills a small settlement grew which by 1810 was known as New Hope. As for the name Lambertville on the Jersey side, it chanced that in 1814 the Hon. John Lambert, United States Senator from New Jersey, secured for his nephew and namesake the appointment of first postmaster here and had the post office designated as Lambertville. This was a disappointment to some of the Coryell family who wanted the place named Georgetown and failing were pleased for a while to call it "Lambertvillany."

In the year 1811 the ferry rights all rested in the New Hope Delaware Bridge Co. organized this year and chartered by Pennsylvania and New Jersey in 1812. And now after another 100 years, January 1920 the bridge is taken over by the two states, the toll house closed and a free passage between the two towns of the two states established.

It is a fact that at the time of the Revolution both sides of the river were known as Coryell's Ferry.

In July 1777 filled with apprehension as to the destination of Howe's fleet, Washington marched across New Jersey. His center, with which his headquarters were attached headed for the crosssing at Coryell's Ferry, his right was to cross the river at Howell's Ferry four miles above, while his left marched to Trenton to cross at one of the two ferries at that point. Upon reaching the river, Washington decided to wait more definite news of Howe's movements, and selected the stone house built by John Holcombe for his headquarters. In the manuscript division of the Library of Congress at Washington there are copies of some ten letters of Washington's correspondence written at Headquarters Coryell's Ferry bearing date July 29, 30, and 31 1777. From Colonel Pickering's Journal the

year 1777 we find the following notes of the march; "26 to Morristown, 27th to Reading eighteen miles from Coryell's ferry over the Delaware 28th Marched to the ferry and quartered at a hearty old Quaker's named Oakham." The "hearty old Quaker named Oakham" was Richard Holcombe son of John Holcombe the first settler on the Jersey side of the ferry.

June 1778 when the army left Valley Forge for that memorable march across New Jersey, in pursuit of the enemy retreating from Philadelphia and on the eve of the battle of Monmouth, once again Washington established headquarters in this house. The line of march led from Valley Forge to Crooked Billet now Hatboro, and thence along the York Road to Coryell's Ferry. Washington arrived on the Jersey side about 3 oclock in the afternoon of June 21 1778 and went directly to the house of Richard Holcombe upon the hillside to the north of the ferry. It was raining and progress of the troops was much delayed so that Washington remained at the house for two days. Copies of seven letters are on file at the Library of Congress prepared at headquarters here on this occasion, namely June 22 & 23 1778. I also found among Washington's Headquarters accounts kept by Capt Caleb Gibbs, a receipt signed by Richard Holcombe for subsistence and entertainment of Washington and his staff on the occasion of this visit.

June 21st & 22, 1778 } His Excell'cy Gen. Washington To Richd Holcombe Dr.

To 38 dinners @ 3/9 .....£7 " 2 " 6—
To bread butter & other necessaries 1 " 17 " 6—
To Trouble &c. made in the house.. 1 " 17 " 6

£10 " 17 " 6

Near Coryells Ferry
June 22d 1778.

Rec'd ye above account in full

Richard Holcombe

Washington kept an exact account of his headquarters and secret service expenses. Though Congress had fixed the pay of the Commander-in-Chief at five hundred dollars a month, Washington in his address to Congress when accepting this commission said, "As to pay, I beg leave to assure the Congress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit of it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire." John Adams, who was present, writing to a friend said of the incident "He declared, when he accepted the mighty trust, that he would lay before us an exact account of his expenses, and not accept a shilling of pay." Washington's account book noting his advances for headquarters expenses about Germantown, the Brandywine and Valley Forge is entered sometimes in dollars and sometimes in pounds which latter currency he calls "lawful money."

As better reflecting the times than anything I could write I am attaching two photostats of original letters of Washington addressed by Washington to the President of Congress and among the papers of the Continental Congress now on file with the manuscript division of the Library of Congress, and both written from Headquarters at Coryell's Ferry.

I am sorry for this long delay in answering Mr. Hough's inquiry, which may really be of very little interest to anyone else. It was not until I was ordered here in command of the Naval Hospital at League Island during the Great War that I had occasion to learn of the wealth of material in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Very respectfully,

Richmond C. Holcomb.
Comdr. (M. C.) U. S. Navy.

THOMAS RODNEY.

BY SIMON GRATZ, ESQ.

(Continued from page 72.)

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Nov^{r}. 15th 1804.

My dear Son,

The last mail brought me Letters from J. Fisher & Doct^{r}. Ham by which I find their late defeat at the Election has broke down the Republicans so that they Speak in Some Earnest of leaving the State—but Col. Tilton informs me you bare it pretty well—Nothing can foil a man while his own mind remains Firm—and I trust you will never lack such a mind. I see you have had your share of Calumny This was to be Expected but what others say never hurts a man whose Conduct is upright—it is only like the Shadow of a Cloud that passes over the Earth it darkens for a Moment and is gone—Calumny is one of the unavoidable attendants of Republican government and a Free Press—and in general the better a man is, which makes him the more important, the more he is abused—and thus the President himself is distinguished by a Superior torrent of Calumny—and these indeed seem to operate more in his favor than the numerous Addresses formerly Presented to M^{r}. Adams—and verily it is often the Case that Adversaries benefit a Man more by their abuse than friends do by their Praise—but a firm and upright mind is never turned out of the Path of rectitude by Either—

A Letter will go by this mail that was wrote for the last but the Post went by without my Knowledge being then busy—This will be short because I am going to the Funeral of my old Venerable friend Col. Hutchins who I have heretofore spoke of to you—He was brother to the Geographer of the U. S. and settled here under the Brittish—The Post will pass while I am absent—and I shall write more fully by the next mail—

Col. Kirby one of the Comm^{rs} and judge at Tombigbee died two weeks ago—The Certificates there are still ungranted and Mr. Nicholas has been long at home —This ought to be Communicated to the President, if he is not otherwise informed—Nicholas must return or a nother Commissioner be appointed—or the Commissioners of this Board be authorized to Finish the Business which ever may be thought best.

M^{r}. Brown, Secret^{y}. Orleans and his Lady left Natchez to day on their way to Orleans the Fever there has abated.

Y^{r}. affectionate Father,

Thomas Rodney.

P. S. I shall write you a Letter on the State Ballances and hope that Disgrace to the Proceedings of America will be Eradicated and Expunged from its records in the Course of this Session of Congress 13 States were engaged in a Common Cause, in the Cause of Liberty—they were successful—and that success was obtained by each making every Exertion in its power—How disgraceful then that some of them should now be Charged with large ballances while others are annually receiving larger Sums from the public Coffers? Who has received the benefit of the Sale of the Vacant Land acquired by the Common Exertions? Can those States which have received Millions in that way pretend to demand ballances of those who have received nothing? away with such scandelous injustice and Inequity—

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington Novr. 20th 1804. M. T.

My dear Son,

As West Floriday appears to be one of the most important objects in the Present Variance between the United States and Spain every degree of light thrown on the subject may tend to Elucidate it—The Spainards have Endeavoured to Shew that because they received that district from the Brittish by the name of West Floriday, it was thereby separated from & no longer to be Considered as a part of Louisiana—But unfortunately for them the Conduct of their Government has uniformly Contradicted this Plea—for in all their Patents for Land in this Territory, they head them, thus "*Louisiana district of Natchez*" and I am informed that in West Floradi they have uniformly used a Similar Stile in heading their Patents for Land, to wit "*Louisiana district of West Florida*" So that it is evident from the proceedings of their own government, that they always Considered both districts as parts of Louisiana and both of them have always been, while in their hands, under the Governor General of Louisiana whose residence was at New Orleans—This Conduct and Uniform practice is so Strong and conclusive against them—that they can have no motive for not delivering it to the United States but a determination to force them, into a war, or to give them a large Sum of Money for the possession—A. sells his farm to B. and B. sells it to C. who pays him inful; but A. still remains in possession and tells C. he will not give it up, without a Law Suite, Unless C. will pay him also for it—What would any honest Man think of such Conduct in an Individual—And are not Nations as much bound as individuals to act justly and uprightly with Each other?

Certainly there can be no native American, who re-

gards the honor and dignity of his Country, that would consent to pay for the district in dispute, a second time—and will the Spainards hold it at the risk of waging an unjust War? If they do, those mighty ships they thretten us with will in a few years rot, and moulder away, in their own harbours, for want of the Revenues & productions of Mexico and Perue to Man and fit them out. This may be Predicted without the gift of Prophesey—Wisdom would therefore dictate a peaceable Conduct to Spain yet it is not unlikely that her Pride or fear may urge her into hostile Measures, for such her present Conduct as well in the West as in her Cabinet portends, so that in a few years it seems not improbable that a new Empire may be seen rising up in America without its Costing the United States a Cent—Volunteers if war was once declared, would rush into that Country by hundreds & by thousands to aid the Inhabitants in Establishing their Freedom & Independence. And the United States would obtain an ample benefit in their allyance and Commerce—Spain would then find too late her glories gone & herself reduced to a Feble European power—She will no doubt exert all her Strength to avoid this Effect but her boasted strength will Soon waste away before the ardor, the enterprize the Intrepedity of Americans—The Standard of Liberty and Independence would then spread its blissful influence over the West, and the Mighty Andes would bow their heads no more to pour their Torrent of Gold and Silver into the Lap of the Alps and Appenines—All the Nations of Europe too except Spain must think favorably of such an Event—The Golden Commerce of western America would then be laid open and each would enjoy their share—Spain however will probably think such Ideas Chimerical, and as mere flights of fancy & imagination: so Great Britain thought of the Ideas that animated us in the Revolution—Yet Events have Surpassed them—Neverthe-

less It is to be hoped that Spain will avoid the Conduct at present that would inevitably produce the Events herein depicted, for the U. S. have no occasion to desire such a war; the prolific and abundant benefits of her Peaceable agriculture & commerce are Sufficient to Induce her to persue her Industry and extend the Settlements of her Vacant Territories—These are objects that may animate her for a long Time and are sufficient to Induce her to desire Peace, as in the pursute of these her strength and prosperity are rising and expanding as fast as can be wished. The peaceable system of Administration adopted by the President is will calculated to promote these ends—Yet the Federal papers have Constantly represented it as the Effect of Pusclanimity & it is to be feared that foreign Nations have been induced in some degree to Credit them from whence arises many Insults & Vexations. For to avoid these, it is Essential for a Nation to support its Honor and Dignity—And the Man, who dreaded not the mighty power of Great Brittain when at its Pinacle, however now misrepresented by his adversaries, cannot be supposed pusilanimous, by any reasonable mind, or disposed to Commit the honor and Dignity of the United States through fear of an Nation; so that any who may presume on this will most Certainly find themselves in the End mistaken. I have no doubt but whenever the honor and Interest of the United States requires it, he will be as firm and daring now as when the Declaration of Independence was made; and if he is not a warrior himself, he will Know well who are, and who to appoint, to Command and Conduct the armies of America.

We have been Extremely crowded with business for two or three weeks; so that I have not time to reflect much on the subject mentioned in a letter by the last mail and therefore shall Inclose in this and order on the Treasury in your favor for the 500, Dol^{s}. there

mentioned, referring you to that Letter for directions only saying here that those directions appropriates 200, Dol^{s}. to the use of Lavinias Children & Sally & Betsy—& the other 300, to yourself & Susan & your Children—The 200 Dol^{s}. divided by five will make 40, Doll^{s}. to Each—out of which you are to buy each a Lottery Ticket & deduct the Price; Sally's & Betseys to be seperate but the Childrens in partnership—Out of the three hundred you are to buy Susan a Ticket and Each of your Children one—the Childrens to be in Partnership and as to the residue of the three hundred you will apply them as you think best— after paying S. Pleasanton I am indebted to him at Washington—& purchasing one Lottery Ticket for me, in the Lottery that has a 20 thousand Dollar Prize in it—

I shall transmit to M^{r}. Gallatin a Duplicate of the order inclosed, which is my Custom. If he refuses to pay it, you will have to wait his lezure.

Nov^{r}. 24th 1804.

Not having closed this Letter I add a few words—the Eastern Mail did not come by the last Post—it had not arrived at Nashville when the Post left it I think. I mentioned in my last the death of Col. Kirby at Tombigbee—as Fisher seem strongly inclined to leave Delaware I wish he could git an appointment that would Enable him to Come to this Country where he would have a better opertunity of acquiring property than in Delaware—

We heard some time ago that Mr. Briggs was at Orleans—and lately that M^{r}. Williams has reached the Territory but neither of them have arrived here yet—

I would have you remember C. R. W. if any thing can be done for him that will be justifiable I should be glad that he could be placed in a Situation to gain a livelyhood if his Conduct will admit of it—I am sorry to hear he has deviated from the Conduct his friends

expected and hope that in his late business at Wyoming he has afforded evidence of reform: business obliges me to Close this Letter. being at this Public place I have much of it to do as a Judge as well as a Commissioner.

Thomas Rodney.

N. B. I shall order 2 bb^{s}. of Pecanns or Pecan Nuts, and two bb^{s}. of oranges one of each for you and one of each for Fisher, to Philad^{a} &^{c} by first Vessel from Orleans after my letter arrives—

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Dec^{r}. 3^{d}. 1804.

My dear Son,

Two letters from you by the last mail; the last dated the 24th of Oct^{r}. and I am very sorry at hearing you have the Intermittant; You must not let either the Event of the Election or the Conduct of the Person you mention depress your mind a firm and Chearful mind is of great Consequence to health and it is not Every difficulty that is a disadvantage—Many are the Instances where great minds rise by difficulties and Indeed they oftener raise than depress such—The order you mention went by the last mail and if you should have any real occasion for what I there directed to Lavinia's Children at present you may retain all theirs but what is necessary to buy their Lottery Tickets and pay it to them hereafter when you can spare it, but Sallys & Betseys send on if the Sec^{y}. pays the order—I am very glad to hear that my Chaise is likely to Come on to me tho the cool Season has now returned when I can ride very well on Horseback, and altho we are in hopes of getting done here by next May yet it is possible we may be detained here another summer for 2000, Claims will take a great deal of time to travel through—It is indeed a Herculean labor to inspect and Consider all the title papers and

Testimony that accompany such a number of Claims Ye we shall proceed in it chearfully and as expeditiously as the nature of the business will admit—The Legislature of the Territory met in this Town today whereby we were obliged to Rent a House for the Board at the rate of 60, Dol^{s}. for 4 months and to purchase chairs & tables &c. and our firewood Costs 2½ dol^{s}. a Cord—&^{c} &^{c}. The Sect^{y}. of the Treasury does not consider himself authorized to allow those two necessary and unavoidable articles House rent and firewood—Is it not proper that a regulation should be made by Law in such cases? but I have ment^{d}. this hertofore—you have no doubt seen the death of Col. Kirby announced in the Papers & the other Commissioner at Tombigbee M^{r}. Nicholas went home several months ago, and I understand all the business is done but signing the Certificates—and I have mentioned Thomas H. Williams who is now there, as a proper person if any other is appointed—You will Remember that I wrote of him to you last Winter he is a worthy young Man—A Judge also must be appointed there in the room of Col. Kirby and I have taken the liberty to mention my Colleague Robert Williams, as the Salary is not sufficient to induce a man that is fit for it to go there from a distance —but as M^{r}. Williams is here he is willing to undertake attend the Courts if his Constant residence while engaged in the Land business here—I should have thought of Fisher if the Country was not so sickly there, as he seems determined to leave Delaware and perhaps some thing better may offer in the Course of the Season—The President has thought proper to make an alteration in our Board by appoint^{s}. M^{r}. Thomas Fitzpatrick of S. Carolina Register Vice M^{r}. Edward Turner—On receiving the Secretary's Letter inclosing his Commission which was transmitted to me I sent an express to Coles Creek where I was informed he lived but the Messenger has not returned yet and I have since

heard that he has gone to Kentucky on a trading Errand, in this Case it will be difficult to Know where to direct a letter to him, yet as his appointment was announced in the papers some time ago it is likely he will hurry home when he sees it—I wrote to the Sect^{y}. of the Treasury on this subject—so that you will say nothing about it unless he or the President mentions it to you—M^{r}. Turner and his Connections having treated me with very friendly respect and attention since I have been here and we having generally acted harmoniously together, for a year past and Knowing that he would feel very sensibly on the occasion, I communicated his removal to him in the most delicate manner, without diviating from the truth in respect to his successor, which the governm^{t}. had Confided to me

Your Affectionate Father,

Thomas Rodney.

A. M^{r}. Turner thanked me for the Polite and delicate manner in which I had Communicated his being superceeded, but was anxious to Know the cause—to this I replied it was the Custom of Government in such case not to assign any & therefore I could only suppose that was the objection made to him and represented to Government by the People of the Territory at an early Period after his Appointm^{t}. which he was acquainted with—he the solicited me to say anything to Government that I could do with propriety in his favor to this I replied that altho I felt a friendly disposition towards him and his Connections I could not take the liberty of saying any thing to Government that would imply the least Censure on their Conduct, but as I had heard no objections to his being Register only on account of his being also a Commissioner and Connected with many of the Claimants, and therefore it was probable from the time of his removal that it was only Intended to prevent his acting as a Commissioner in the Decision of Claims which implied no other Censure

than what would have fallen on any other person in the same Circumstances

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. December 14th 1804.

My dear Son,

Your Letter of Novr. 16th came to hand by the last mail under Cover from Treasury department and I am very glad to hear you are well and at your Post and that you left Susan and the Children all well As to Captn Huns treatment tho it Cannot avoid affecting Susan and of Consequence in some degree yourself yet I must advise you again and again Not to let anything disorganize the tone of your mind—always considering that a mind which meets with no difficulties becomes Feble for want of that Vigirous Exercise which is necessary to perfect a great mind—Socrates tho a Man of violent passion ruled and conducted them with all the Calmness and Serenety that the Sun travels over the Clouds and Storms of the day—and the Stoics took a pride in and valued themselves on not being disturbed at anything, yet this was rendering the passions which are the impulse of our faculties useless and is therefore a Kind of Philosophy not to be Commended. A wise man should rejoice at that strong impulse which passion gives but should always govern & direct their motions by the rule of wisdom—When a mans Life or Country is in danger then there is occasion to exert all his faculties, as a Statesman, Orator, or Soldier, or in some other way, but not on every trifling occasion for often indeed those things which we feel at first as evil, turn out in the end to be advantageous—And trust if you Preserve your Mind intire Nothing Captn. H. can say or do, will injure you—the severest reflections will fall on himself if he should ever return to his reason and consider how much he he has disturbed the happy-

ness of a sweet little rising family whose Interest and happyness it is his duty to promote.

There is a number of young men attending on the business of this Board as Clerks, Surveyors, &c. who from the manner in which they have been Uniformly treated by the Comm. find themselves greatly improved, in Manners & Knowledge and their genius's animated and inspired—among them is a Mr. Fitz who is here under the Patronage of the President and was left in Charge of the Surveyor Generals office when he went away and has since been appointed Postmaster here—He has contrived and Effected several ingenious Mechanical Machines since he has been here—One was to impel Major R. Clairbornes Boat Paddles; and he is progressing in one to take Perspective views—and I here inclose one which may be very useful in Copying Maps or Surveys, and also enlarging or Contracting them at pleasure correctly and expeditiously—The Mode of doing which is explained by himself on the same paper with the figure of the Machine, and altho the explanation may seem a little difficult the Machine and its operation are very Simple—He is making a small Model to send on to the President but in the Mean time I request you to shew this to the President and to the Secretary of War, in whose Department it may be very useful.

We are now Prepairing the business of this Board for Issuing Certificates—Mr. Williams has been here since the first of this Month but Mr. Briggs has not Come yet nor have we heard lately where he is—The Legislature of the Territory are now sitting in this town and upon Complaints from Tombigbee agt. some determinations of the Commissioners there are about to forward a memorial to Congress which will explain their Wishes—This Board fixed on the last of March 1798 being the day the Spainards finally evacuated this District as the time Limitting Donation Claims—The

Board at Tombigbee Limited the time to the end of 1797. Considering themselves bound by the Law to that day, tho that District as appears by a letter of Col. Kirby to this Board was not evacuated until May or June 1799 and the words and express intention of the Law seem to Extend Donations to the day of final evacuation of the Territory tho the Legislature from the information they then had Considered that to have been Sometime in the year 1797. Yet the fact was otherwise and we fixed here, on the day of evacuation at Natchez, not then Knowing when Tombigbee was evacuated—They also complain that the Board at Tombigbee, disregarding the Plots and Surveys of Donation Claims regulated the quantity of acres and form of survey as they thought best and sometimes laid the Survey distant from their Settlements in quite a new place &c. This Board do not Consider themselves authorized by the Law to do this; tho discreetly conducted such a power might be an advantage to the claimants in many Instances—and as there will be much more of this business to do in Louisiana it will be advisable for Congress not to oblige Donation Claimants to make their own Surveys & Plots but simply to make their Claim of Settlement and then direct the Commissioners, to lay out their Land so as to include their Settlement if there be Vacant land Sufficient, and if there be room only for part there then to give them the residue elsewhere—or if on land not vacant then to receive it where the Commissioners may direct—then the Commissioners might on all occasions where the adjoining tracts did not require the Contrary to prevent small vacancies, have the lands laid out by Cardinal and Paralel lines—I have been informed too that the Legislature also mean to apply to Congress to have that Board dissolved and to have the Completing the business there, transferred to this Board—This is not desirable to us, yet if the Government should think it

best to save expense, I should not refuse to Comply with their laudible desires to advance the welfare of the western Country now become so important to the United States. I must here observe that in Mentioning the preceeding facts there was no intention in me in the least to Censure the Conduct of the Board at Tombigbee—It was Composed of men I respect and Consider them as possessing Equal right to expound the Law according to their own opinions &c.

It gives me Pleasure to see by the Presidents Message, and the Documents accompanying it, that the Court of Spain has withdrawn their Formidable objection to the Cession of Louisiana and hope they will persue the same peaceable and friendly disposition to the relinquishment of that part of the Cession called west Florida, and also to an amiable settlement of a Western line that will imbrace the Sorces of all the streams that fall into the Misisipi from the westward—I trust the United States will insist on this—and I am sure it will be the Interest of the Spainards to avoid a war—

I am informed by the Papers as well as by my letters from Dover that Mr. Bayard is appointed in the Room of Wells in the Senate of U. S. This Session therefore will be a favorable opertunity to urge the Extinguishment of the State ballances—If you have been careful to inform yourselves well of the Exertions made by Delaware in the Course of the Revolution—as soon as I can take the time I will recapitulate to you such of these as are clearly yet remembered by me, being now far from any Documents which might aid my recollection except the Volumes of the Laws of that State which I brought with me.

Altho Delaware at the late General Election seems receeding from her Republicanism Masachusets seems rapidly advancing—Indeed there seems no prospect of much opposition to the President at the next Election

his National Conduct has had such influence on the Mass of the people that his adversaries have few left to support them.

I have sent orders to Orleans for two barrels of *Pecans* and two barrels of Oranges to be shipped round to Wilmington or Philadelphia directed to you as before—one of each are to be sent to J. Fisher—Give my love to Susan and the Children.

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Dec^{r}. 31st 1804.

My dear Son,

Having now proceed so far into the Land business hear as to obtain a full view of the Situation of this Country I lament that Country by the tenor and Structure of the present Land Law, after we have finished, will be left in an unhappy Situation in respect to the Brittish Grants and be subject to perpetual Law Suits —In the first place many Brittish grants will be taken away by Confirmed Spanish Patents, for which no Compensation is provided and the Brittish Claimants will have no resort but to a Suit at Law which possibly many of them may resort to hereafter as they Consider themselves as possessing the best Legal Title— Secondly such Certificates as we may grant under the three first Sections of the Act where they Conflict with a Brittish grant such grant must be stated in the Certificate, which will unavoidably occasion great delay in our waiting for the Surveyors to ascertain such interferences before they can be States—but for such losses as these the Brittish Claimant is to be Compensated out of the Reserve, but these inferior Claims in Virtue of Settlement generally take all the best of the land and the residue of the grants is of little value and the British Claimant Knows not where the Compensation lay, but in most if not all cases it must be distinct and per-

haps distant from the residue where when part of his tract only is taken away—and in many cases this residue of his Tract is jagged and cut to pieces by the Settlement Tracts—Many of the Brittish Claimants therefore may prefer Contending against these Settlement Claims by Ejectments and Suits at Law, but probably will defer this till the regular Courts of the United States are extended here for the purpose of obtaining a more impartial trial than they would expect among the Settlers here—These apprehensions are very unpleasant even to the Settlers that will obtain our Certificates, and a Regulation that would have avoided them, would leave this Country in a more pleasant perminent situation.

If the Law had allowed Compensation to all Brittish Claimants whose Lands were regranted by the Spainards—and all Brittish grants not regranted by the Spainards to remain good, and allowed all Donation Settlers 640 acres on any Vacant Land, only, and all Preemptions Claimants Such Quantity as they might incline to purchase to be laid also on Vacant Land only, and obliged all Brittish Claimants whose lands have been in any Degree improved by preemption Claimants pay them the Value of their improvements it would have given I believe more satisfaction to all the Claimants—Or the Government might have totally have suppressed all the Brittish Grants and given them in Lieu thereof a tract of Land in one body amounting in quantity to all their Claims elsewhere—This indeed would be a Soverign Regulation and by some the Propriety of it might be doubted but we have an Example set by the Brittish themselves in Respect to the Settlers in Novoscotia after the Peace of 1763. They were in a body deprived of their Lands and no Compensation made them and their Lands given to the Brittish Officers &c

I have sugested these Ideas and tho not official may

be Considered and if not too late be adopted by Congress as far as they may think proper—but if not adopted this part of the Country which alone can be made a perminent Stand at present in this western Country will be in an unsettled and perplexed Situation.

I remember well the Refugees of Novascotia they were dispersed among the then Brittish Colonies and reduced to Indigence and Misery—and perhaps it was one of those unjust Acts for which Providence deprived Great Brittain of this Country—

Your affectionate father,

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Janʳ. 24th 1805.

My dear Son,

Mʳ. Briggs the Surveyor General arrived here last Saturday and Mʳ. T. H. Williams, who was at Tombigbee last Summer Came here with him the Letter informed me that he was at the Chocktaw Treaty last fall, and that the Indians had sent on a proposal to Government to sell their Land at the uper part of this territory to the Chickasaw line which is Called the Yazoo Land—This Tract is the Garden of the Territory and if government should purchase it, which no doubt they will, I should sooner obtain a part of that Tract than any where else in the territory—The good Land extends up the Yazoo on the East side about 35 miles and then becomes poor but on the west side the Land between the Yazoo & Misisipi is all rich up to the Chickasaw bluffs and I am told the Chickasaws want to sell from the Chocktaw line below up to the Tennessee line including the bluffs—the finest Tract of Land in the Territory lays on the Misisipi from the Bigblack River up to the Tennessee line and extends off from the Misisipi about 20 miles—The whole of this Tract is rich but some parts of it near the Rivers are over-

flowed when the Rivers are full, but much the greater part is high Land and Enjoys the best Climate and the best water as well as the richest soil generally of any land in the Territory and therefore will be the most rapidly settled.

David Ker Esq^{r}. one of the Judges of the Superior Court for this Territory Died the 21st. of this month. I have given Notice of this to the Government in a Letter to M^{r}. Madison but as there is to be a Judge to reside in the Tombigbee District it seems unnecessary to appoint another here in the place of Judge Ker, as there will be one Judge in Each District without such an appointment for Judge Bruin Resides in Jefferson and I reside in Adams—Indeed my Situation is such that almost all the out of Court business of both Jefferson and Adams Districts has heretofore Come to me—

I have not rec'd a letter from you for 3 or 4 weeks past & I have got no acc^{t}. of my Carriage yet—

You ought to have informed me what Vessel it was on Board off and to whom directed at Orleans tho I have wrote to my agents there to take care of it and send it up when it Comes there—I wrote to the Little girls Mary & Eliza by last Mail—Give my love to Susan and all the Children—

There is a strong opposition to Governor Claiborne at Orleans & several writers in the papers Vilifying his administration—we hear that M^{r}. Brown was removed from being Secretary and appointed a Judge which he has refused to accept.

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Mrs. Anna D. Postlewait, City of Natchez.

Town of Washington March 13th 1805

Dear Madam,

Inclosed you will receive a Certificate of your Marriage—It has always been my Custom to place this in the hands of the Lady for Safe Keeping.

And please to permit me to say your Marriage presented a pleasant scene. The Ladies appeared, I will not say, like a band of Sirens, but like a Choir of Seraphs just descended from above. Their Music and Charms were Enchanting and spread blissful pleasure around—and permit me to tell Miss Dunbar your successoress that there was nothing lacking to have turned the Forrest into a perfect Paradise but her neglecting to dress & ornament the House throughout with flowers, to have made it a representation of the bower of the primeval pair of the human race—She ought to have done this on such an occasion, as the God of nature himself had dictated its propriety, by previously dressing the woods and field with flowers—therefore when such an occasion happens again she ought not to omit this beautiful and delightful part of the Paradisal Scene—and permit me to say to the Young ladies further that tho they appeared like a Choir of Cherubims and perhaps hereafter may be such, yet that at present they are Mortals and are only sent here a while to beautify adorn and replenish the Earth—Therefore I wish them all happy Matches and as soon as they please—

God bless you with health and prosperity—Adieu.

Thomas Rodney.

Please to present my congratulations and Respectful Compliments to M^{r}. Postlewait.

Thomas Rodney to T. Gammel, Esquire, near Fort Adams.

Town of Washington Oct^{r}. 2^{d}. 1805.

D^{r}. Sir,

Your Letter of the 30th Ult. Came to hand yesterday, wherein you inform me that Justice Baker refuses to try Horton's Negros in a Summary way, &^{c}. and wish to Know what I had advised in that respect—My advice to Justice Baker was that they should be tried under the 19th Sec^{n}. of the Slave Act of this Territory, as what

they had done did not amount to Felony—and all offences inferior to Felony Committed by Slaves, are by that Act, to be tried by a Justice of the Peace and five Freeholders—Riot, & Kidnapping, in some Cases, by the Statutes of England (which do not Extend here) are made Felony; but by the Common Law, are only punishable by Fine, Imprisonment & Pillory—therefore under this Law must be Considered as Offences Inferior to Felony, and when Committed by Slaves, triable under the Slave Act, by a Justice of the Peace, and five Freeholders—This being the Case—the only question that remains is whether the breaking of Kemper's House &c. was a Burglary. Which is thus Defined by Chief Justice Cook—A Burglar is, "He that by Night breaketh and Entereth into a Mansion House, with Intent to Commit a Felony"—It is Evident the Intent in this case was to sieze the Kempers and deliver them below the line to the Spainards; which is not made Felony by any Law of this Territory—therefore the breaking and Entering the House did not amount to Burglary,—and If the offence of the Slaves be inferior to Felony, they Can be tried in no way but by a Justice of the Peace and five Freeholders—I am satisfied that the offence of the slaves deserves much greater punishment in this Case than the Law Inflicts, but it is not the Will or Opinion of Magistrates, but the Law, that Rules in our Country—and If the Laws are defective, it belongs to the legislature, and not to the Judges, to render them Consistent with the Principles of Justice and Right—

The Intent in this Case being to take a Citizen out of the Country, and deliver him to another Government, which was done, is an offence against the United States also—but I do not find any Law of the United States, that alters the Common Law, in such Cases, or they might have been tried in our supreme Court, sitting as a District or Circuit Court of the United States

—and as to the White men Concerned in Committing the offence, they may be tried, Either by the Territorial, or Federal Courts—and if any of the Spainish Subjects, who were active above the line, should be taken, perhaps it will be most proper to try them in the Federal Court.

Beside advising Justice Barker to try Mr. Horton's Negro's, I advised him that it would be proper before he discharged them, to oblige Mr. Horton, to Enter Security in the Sum of 500, for each of them, for their good behaviour respectly.

I am Respectfully
Your most obedient
Thomas Rodney.

P. S. I directed Justice Baker also to require Securities of the three Kempers in 1000, Dollars each for their good behaviour respectively towards the Country and Subjects of the King of Spain.

T. R.

(To be continued.)

Isaac Sharpless.

The Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, desiring to place on its records an expression of appreciation of the services of Dr. Isaac Sharpless to education, history, science, good citizenship, and the Society, and of sincere regret for the loss of a colleague ten years a member of the Council, request the Recording Secretary to enter this minute on the journal.

Dr. Sharpless began his career of usefulness as instructor of mathematics in Haverford College, rose to be professor of mathematics and astronomy, Dean, and finally President of the College. It was characteristic of Dr. Sharpless to seek to leave any piece of work he undertook better than he found it. While he occupied the chair of mathematics, therefore, he wrote textbooks on Plane Geometry, Solid Geometry, Surveying, Natural Philosophy, and an Astronomy for Schools.

Mathematics proved not to be his chosen field of work. The bent of his mind was towards history, and after 1884 when he became Dean he turned to history and books, pamphlets, magazine articles and addresses on historical subjects concerning Pennsylvania and the Friends took the place of treatises on mathematics. His early works in his new field, "Some Facts About Municipal Government in Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool," and "Early Education in England," showed a leaning towards political science and the Mother Country. But he soon came back to Pennsylvania and the Friends, and wrote "A Quaker Experiment in Government," "A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania," "Two Centuries of Pennsylvania History," and "Quakerism and Politics." As

their titles indicate these books were explanatory of Quaker government in Pennsylvania and place him in the older school of historians.

Besides these formal works the bibliography of Dr. Sharpless contains one hundred and twenty-one titles of addresses and articles contributed to magazines, periodicals and newspapers. They cover a wide range of subjects, "Astronomy," "Sun Spots," "Meteors," "Comets," "The Weather," "Educational Reformers," "The Early Life of Great Men," "Political and Religious Conditions of the Province of Pennsylvania Two Hundred Years Ago," "The Ills of Pennsylvania," "Friends and War Problems," "Conscription in America."

Recognition of the scholarship of Dr. Sharpless was made by several colleges and universities. From the University of Pennsylvania he received the degree of Doctor of Science; from Swarthmore, Doctor of Laws; from Harvard, Doctor of Laws; and from Hobart College, the degree of L.H.D. At the time of his death, January 16, 1920, Dr. Sharpless was a member of the Commission on the Revision of the Constitution of Pennsylvania.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

Letters of John Blakey to Jesse Sharpless, Harness Maker of Chester County and Later Philadelphia.

Concord, March 30th: 1779.

My little Boy Jes—
Our well has more water in it than usual, no thanks to you, & I have less Mony in my Pocket than heretofore, thanks to the Congress. The other day Old Pocaty Moonshine or Old Blue-Skin died, he liv'd 28 years a Bachelor, 28 years a Married Drone, & 28 years a widower, and by the time he is 28 years in Purgatory, & 28 years with old Scratch, and 28 years in Paradise, he will be 168 years, Old, and very tuff. Do you want any more randum stuff &c. If you are a good Whig, you may Drink the following Toasts

1 Confusion to the Enemies of America, foreign & domestick.
2 Freedom and Independence.
3 A good peace or a New War.
4 Off with every mask that hides a Traitor.
5 May Traid, Commarce, & Religion flurrish.
6 May America ever oppose bad measures & applaud good ones.

A definition of a Whig.

A Whig was a party Name in the last Reigns given to those who maintained, that Liberty was the Birthright of every man, & that Kings being Created for the good of the People, and the preservation of Liberty, could not have a Divine Right to become Tyrants, or to subvert that Constitution they had sworn to protect.

A Tory is one that adheres to the Doctrine of passive Obedience & Nonresistance. So if Old Nick Reigns they are his humble Servants & must Obay. Hatefull in name & odious in Nature

Little Je^{s} gives his love to his name sake—I could say more—says

J. B.

Addressed to Jesse Sharples, Saddlar, In East Bradford, Chester County, Pennsylvania.

Concord, April ; 1782.

Heaven Bless you my dear Jes—We have a large piece of Linen come from the Weavers, but not fine enough for you, so you need not depend upon Concord for Shirts, On the 8th of this Instant my little Cousin was brought to Bed, and had two little She Quakers, but not likeing the smell of Toryism, they withdrew in about 5 or 6 hours, are now above the Clouds, and if there is any Room in Heaven for Quakers, no doubt they are there before this time, Please to give my best Complements to M^{r}. Polk and his good Lady & Family. I Remain no more, nor no less, than your Very humble Servant,

John Blakey.

☞ Please to give my love to the Congress, & all friends. When I was in Philadelphia the other day, I seen a piece of Linen at Caleb Attmores as white as a Crud, and fine enough for a Horse Taylor at 4/6 yard. My little Cousin is like to doe bravely, we all join in love to you, but mine is without Variation or end, says your most affectionate & unalterable friend.

John Blakey.

Addressed to M^{r}. Jesse Sharples, Horse Taylor, In Philadelphia.

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Copies of all the volumes of this MAGAZINE can be obtained at the Hall of The Historical Society, bound by Hyman Zucker, in the very best manner, in the style known as Roxburgh, half cloth, uncut edges, gilt top, for $4.00 each and the postage. They will be furnished to subscribers in exchange for unbound numbers, in good condition, on the receipt of $1.00 per volume and the postage.

PRINTED BY PATTERSON & WHITE CO.

JOHN BEATTY M.D.
... of the Continental Congress

John Beatty.

THE

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

OF

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XLIV. 1920. No. 3.

LETTERS OF THE FOUR BEATTY BROTHERS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY, 1774–1794.

BY JOSEPH M. BEATTY, JR., PH.D. (HARVARD).

The following letters, written by four brothers to one another during the Revolutionary period and immediately thereafter, form an interesting commentary upon the times. They record the hardships of the camp; they reveal in a very intimate way the gossip of a colonial family; they throw illuminating side-lights upon the life of a soldier in old Philadelphia; and they indicate in no uncertain manner the difficulties that beset the early legislators in state and nation.

The four brothers, John, Charles Clinton, Reading, and Erkuries Beatty, all officers in the Continental Army, came of fighting stock. They were the sons of the Rev. Charles Beatty, a noted Presbyterian clergyman, who, in spite of his profession, was a veteran of the French and Indian War. He was the only son of John Beatty, an officer in the British army, and Christiana Clinton, the daughter of a line of soldiers and sailors extending far back of Edward Clinton, Lord High Admiral of England under Elizabeth, to John, first Baron Clinton who fought for Edward I in Scotland and in France. With such a heritage, it is not

strange that the four brothers volunteered their services in 1776.

The mother of the family, Ann Reading Beatty, daughter of John Reading, Esq., Provincial Governor of New Jersey, had died in Scotland in 1768, leaving ten children. Four years later, Rev. Charles Beatty died in the Barbadoes while on a mission for the benefit of Princeton College, from which he had received the degree of A. M. in 1762, and of which he was a trustee. His death left John the eldest son, the chief adviser of the other children, who were, in addition to the above mentioned: Mary, who married the Rev. Enoch Green; Christiana; Elizabeth, usually referred to in the letters as Betsey, married first to the Rev. Philip Vicars Fithian, and secondly to his cousin, Joel Fithian, Esq.; Martha; George, who went to sea and was not heard of after 1785; and William Pitt, for some time Secretary and Treasurer of the Columbia Bridge Company of Columbia, Pennsylvania.

Our interest is merely casual, however, in the children other than the writers of the letters. Since the biographies of the four brothers will clarify certain points in their correspondence, I shall give them in some detail.

I. John Beatty was born 10 December, 1749, and graduated at Princeton in 1769—his sword was recently presented to Princeton University. During the two years following his graduation he studied medicine with Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, and in 1772, began to practice at Hartsville, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. On 22 March 1774, he was married to Mary, daughter of Richard Longstreet, Esq., of Princeton. On 5 January, 1776, he was commissioned Captain in the 5th Pennsylvania Battalion, and leaving his wife with her family, joined the army.

On 12 October, 1776, he was commissioned Major in the 6th Pennsylvania, and a month later was taken

prisoner at the capture of Fort Washington, 16 November, 1776. Although he was allowed some liberty on parole at Flatbush, Long Island, he was not exchanged until 8 May, 1778. During this period he was again commissioned, 1 January, 1777, Major, to rank from the preceding 12 October. On 28 May, 1778, he was appointed, with the rank of colonel, to succeed Elias Boudinot as Commissary General of Prisoners. He retained this office until his resignation 31 March, 1780.

In 1780 he retired to his home near Princeton, called Windsor Hall, and there began again the practice of medicine. He had by no means finished his services to his country, however. He was a delegate from New Jersey to the Continental Congress, 1783–5: several of his letters are dated from Annapolis while the Congress was in session there. He was a representative in the Congress of the United States, 1793–5; a member of the State Convention on the Constitution, 1787; a member of the State Legislature of New Jersey; and the Speaker of the Assembly. He was Secretary of State for New Jersey, 1795–1805.

In addition to holding these political offices, Colonel Beatty acted as a Brigadier General in the Militia and held various offices of trust in the community. For nearly twenty years he was one of the Trustees of Princeton College. He was President of the Trenton Banking Company and also of the Trenton Delaware Bridge Company. In this last capacity he laid the corner stone of the first pier, 24 May, 1804, and at the completion of the bridge, led the great procession formed for the first crossing. It is said to have been the finest structure of its kind in the United States at the time.

In 1815, Colonel Beatty's wife died, and three years later he married Mrs. Katharine Lalor of Trenton. He died 30 May, 1826. Among his descendants is the Rev. John Beatty Howell, of Philadelphia, who owns the oil

portraits of Colonel Beatty and his wife, of Erkuries Beatty, Rev. Charles Beatty, Ann Reading Beatty, and Christiana Clinton Beatty.

II. Charles Clinton Beatty, born 10 February, 1756, has a short and tragic history. After preparing for College with his brother-in-law, the Rev. Enoch Green, of Deerfield, he entered Princeton, and graduated there in 1775. In a letter written from Princeton, January 1774, he gives an interesting account of one of the patriotic demonstrations there: "Last week to show our patriotism, we gathered all the Steward's winter store of Tea, and having made a fire on the campus, we there burnt near a dozen pounds, tolled the bell, and made many spirited resolves. But this was not all. Poor Mr. Hutchinson's Effigy shared the same fate with the Tea; having a Tea canister tied about his neck." Although he had been planning to enter the ministry, he obtained, 5 January, 1776, a commission as Second Lieutenant in the 4th Pennsylvania Battalion. While in the service he accompanied General Wayne into Canada, and was later stationed at Ticonderoga. While he was near Chester, Pennsylvania, he purchased a very handsome rifle; one of his friends in jest pointed it at him, and saying, "Beatty, I will shoot you", pulled the trigger. The gun was loaded, and Lieutenant Beatty fell dead. He was buried in the Burying Ground in Chester.

III. Reading Beatty, born 23 December, 1757, was educated at Mr. Green's School in Deerfield, and had expected to enter Princeton, but giving up that purpose he began the study of medicine with his brother John and later with Doctor Moses Scott of New Brunswick, N. J. Writing to Mr. Green in 1775, he says: "Have you any Tories in your part of the country? We have too many of them here; and indeed some that are worse than Tories, viz those that when they have put on their Regimentals are pretended Whigs, but as soon as they

put them off are detestable Tories; and are therefore Hypocrites. Does Mrs. Green drink *tea* yet? I hope not. If she does, and you allow her, you will perhaps fall under the denomination of a Tory. Poor Mrs. Peck is gone; or she would have had a whole chest laid up in store, against a rainy day."

Upon the outbreak of the war he enlisted first as a private and was at once appointed sergeant. On 5 January, 1776, he was commissioned Ensign in the 5th Pennsylvania Battalion, and 10 August, 1776, 2d Lieutenant. He was taken prisoner at the capture of Fort Washington, 16 November, marched through the streets of New York with great indignities, and confined on the *Mersey* or *Myrtle* Prison Ship. He was permitted to live on parole in Flatbush with his brother John until 8 May, 1778, when both were exchanged. After this he studied medicine in Philadelphia under Doctor Shippen. He then joined the 6th Pennsylvania as Surgeon's Mate, and on 1 May, 1780, was commissioned Surgeon to the 11th Pennsylvania. In the following year, 10 February, 1781, he was transferred to the 4th Continental Artillery in which he served until June, 1783.

He married, 20 April, 1786, Christina, daughter of Judge Henry Wynkoop of Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Doctor Beatty died 29 October, 1831. Among his descendants are Samuel Moore Curwen of Philadelphia, President of the Brill Car Works, and Joseph Moorhead Beatty (father of the writer) a member of the Standing Committee of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania.

IV. Erkuries Beatty, born 9 October, 1759, was in many ways the most interesting of the four brothers. In 1775, when only sixteen years old, he assisted in the capture of a British transport, and at about the same time enlisted as a private in the Continental army. He was commissioned Ensign, 2 January, 1777, in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, and 2d Lieutenant,

2 May, 1777. On 5 May, 1777, he joined the main army with his company, and in September was engaged in the battle of the Brandywine. At the battle of Germantown he was severely wounded in the thigh, and was carried to the house of one of the Society of Friends who took him in and cared for him until his relatives could be notified.

The wound healed rapidly, and he was able to spend the winter at Valley Forge. During the next year he fought at Monmouth, and wintered at Schoharie. He was commissioned 1st Lieutenant, 2 June, 1778. In 1779 he accompanied Van Schaich against the Onandagas, and later, Sullivan against the Indians in western New York (For his *Journal* on this expedition, see *Pennsylvania Archives,* Second Series, vol, xv, pp. 219–253). He was Regimental Paymaster 1 June, 1779 till 17 May, 1780, and also 22 May 1783 till 3 November, 1783.

Unlike his older brothers, Erkuries continued in the military service of his country after the cessation of hostilities with England. He had not been prepared for any particular profession except that of arms. After several months of service with the War Office in Philadelphia, he obtained a commission as Lieutenant in the U. S. Infantry, 12 August, 1784, and Captain, 1st Infantry, 29 September, 1789. During the years 1786–8, he was paymaster to the Western Army, and for the following two years, Commandant at Vincennes. He was commissioned Major, 5 March, 1792, and was in the 1st Sub-Legion, 4 September, 1792. He resigned from the army, 27 November, 1792.

Upon his retirement from the army, Major Beatty bought a large farm near Princeton, N. J. He held a number of offices in his community. He was a Justice of the Peace and Judge of the County Court, a member of the Legislature of New Jersey, and Treasurer of the State Society of the Cincinnati of New Jersey. He is

now represented in the Society of the Cincinnati by Charles Clinton Beatty of Ontario, California, a descendant of Doctor Reading Beatty, and the owner of most of the following letters.

Major Beatty married on 21 February, 1799, Mrs. Susanna Ewing Ferguson of Philadelphia (widow of Major William Ferguson who had been killed in St. Clair's defeat, 4 November, 1791). Their son, the Rev. Charles Clinton Beatty, D.D., was a noted Presbyterian minister. There are now no living descendants of this branch of the family.

Reading Beatty to Erkuries Beatty.

Neshaminy November 4th. 74

Dear Brother,

As Charles sets off on Monday next, I thought I should be to blame, if I neglected the Opportunity; therefore I now set down to write you a Letter.

Nothing strange has happened since you went away, therefore I cannot tell you much News, but you must take what comes uppermost.

Charles and I one Afternoon we went down to Hendersons[1] Young Orchard to get some Apples but they had gathered them all in, so we could get none; but the Chestnut Tree there being very full of Chestnuts, and Nobody near, Charles he got up the tree, and shook a most concerned sight down, and I gathered up as fast as ever I could 'till he came down; directly after came a fellow and began to tell us how we should not take the Chestnuts so, & that Robert was very angry with us for shaking them down; we never minded but picked up as fast as ever we could and he went away. Presently after came the little Fellow, and began to hollow

[1] Robert Henderson, of Warminster, yeoman, whose will was proved 25 April, 1775. Reading Beatty was apparently at the Beatty homestead near Hartsville, Pa. Erkuries was at school in Deerfield, N. J.

away (for he durst not come near) that if we did not go away, & let the Chestnuts somebody would make us, we made fun of him till we got them all picked up, and then went away. We got I believe very near, or quite a peck, which we dried and eat.

We had fine fun one night a whole heap of us at a Husking Frolic at Rob^{t} Millers with old Alex. Smith who was drunk, we would push one another against him, and down he would go, at last when we had done he sat down among the husks, and we all sat round him for a good while, then he got up and Staggered away at one side, and told any of us to come out and fight him if we dared, but we would catch hold of his legs and throw him down; we plagued him so a good while, and then he set off to go home, then we brought him back again, then he set off again, and we brought him back, so we plagued him a great while, at last we let him go home. He threatens now to have Chas, me and good many more before the Justice, tho' I believe that will hardly be.

I was out Rackoon Hunting the other Night with 10 or 11 more, and we caught nothing but 2 Cats and a Scunk, and another night I was out, but got nothing at all.

John Poak had a husking Frolic on the Stalk not long ago, and there was very near thirty at it, I did not go till almost night, for fear I should be tired Working, and we had a fine Frolic, he got it all done (16 or 17 Acres) and hauled in except about 4 Acres.

Presbytry sat here last Week to ordain our Minister,[1] and there were a great Concourse of People especially on Thursday when he was ordained: I went but could not get in and so came home again and did not go again at all.

Folks about here all well at present, I had a slight

[1] The Rev. Nathaniel Irwin, who succeeded Rev. Charles Beatty as minister of the Presbyterian church at Neshaminy.

touch of the Flux not long ago but am got pretty well again now.

Yours

R. Beatty.

John Beatty to his sister, Mrs. Fithian.

Kingsbridge, Sept. 10th, 1776.

My dear Betsey:—

Scarce a day passes that you do not occur to my mind, and my anxiety was not a little increased when I heard that Mr. Fithian[3] had engaged in the service. I am truly sensible of the disagreeable consequences of leaving wives, when more especially fatigue and danger are our natural companions; but I flatter myself the importance of the contest will sufficiently apologize for our rudeness in leaving you, Mr. Fithian has just left me—was well; we are happy in laying so near one another as to be frequently together. Brother Reading is an officer in the Battalion with me, and Arky lays in the same camp with Mr. Fithian; Charles is at Ticonderoga; I heard from him a few days ago: he with Mr. Reed are well and in great spirits. Where will you find a family more engaged in the service than ours. I hope we shall prove ourselves worthy of the privileges we are contending for. Mrs. Beatty spends the chief part of her time with Mrs. Howard.[4] She is as agree-

[3] Philip Vicars Fithian, first husband of Elizabeth Beatty, was born 29 December, 1747, graduated at Princeton, 1774, and, according to Heitman's *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution*, was killed on the retreat from New York 15 Sept. 1776, while serving as chaplain in the Continental forces. The *Beatty Family Record*, however, says that he died in camp at Fort Washington, 8 October, 1776. His experiences as a tutor in Virginia are recorded in his *Journal and Letters*, 1767–1774, edited by John R. Williams, Princeton, 1900.

[4] Mrs. Howard, the wife of Captain William Howard, an officer in the British army before the outbreak of hostilities. He was a strong Whig, but because of illness could not take part in the war. He owned the Castle Howard farm near Princeton, later the property of Colonel John Beatty, and had inscribed in large letters on the wall of one of the rooms, "No Tory talk here."

ably situated as I could wish for; but still complains loudly of my absence. Mr. Fithian has doubtless informed you of our situation, with regard to military matters, I shall only add that our army is young and inexperienced; our enemies numerous and formidable, and unless Providence miraculously interferes, I fear the consequences. Believe me dear sister,

Yours, affectionately,
John Beatty.

Charles Clinton Beatty to Rev. Enoch Green.[5]

Ticonderoga Sep^{r} 10th 1776.

Dear Sir,

I had the great pleasure to hear of your welfare some time ago by a letter from New York informing me that M^{r}. Fithian was attending some of the Militia Regiments as Chapl^{n}—I have often wished both to hear from you & to write to you since I have been to the Northward, but I never met with an opportunity that could be depended on,—The Soldiers life begins to sit more easy upon me than it did at first—We had many hardships and fatigues to undergo which before I knew nothing of—My Health, through the favour of a kind Providence has been preserved so well, that I have almost always been able to do my duty in the Regiment, Yet the Army in general has been sickly—After all my wishes and expectations I had not the happiness to see the famous plains of Abraham and Walls of Quebec—When we joined the Army they were at the Sorell, a few days after we were ordered to attack the Regulars down at Fair Rivières, where we experienced the great

[5] The Rev. Enoch Green, b. in New Jersey, 29 December, 1734, O. S. He was minister of the Presbyterian church at Deerfield, N. J., and taught a classical school there. He married, 7 June, 1770, Mary, eldest daughter of Rev. Charles Beatty; several of her younger brothers were among his pupils. He served for a short time as chaplain in the Revolutionary Army, and died of camp fever, 2 December, 1776.

mortification of a defeat, there I saw a little of fighting and but a little for we were soon forced to make the best of our way up to Sorell, since that time we have retreated till we came here during which time we had no peace or rest—We have here thrown up works which I think will be able to withstand their force—Ticonderoga fort which is out of repair and but of little use at present is situated on a point of Land very high which is formed by Lake Champlain & a narrow river leading out of Lake George,—about 3/4 of a mile behind the Fort on an eminence commanding the Fort we are encamped, with 2 Brigades—Our Lines here extend from the River to the Lake and are strong—on the Lake we have a redoubt, commanding down it 3 miles, with 2—18 Pounders & 2—12 P^{rs}. & on the highest part between the two waters a redoubt with 8 Pieces of Cannon commanding all the high Ground—on the Opposite side of the Lake on a high piece of Land called Mount Independence, we have near 30 pieces of Cannon mounted, heavy metal, some commanding the Lake, others the old Fort & other Places—all these besides several other redoubts are finished, good & strong since we came here—On the Lake down Near S^{t} Johns lies our Fleet, consisting of 3 or 4 Schooners & 8 or 10 Gondolas, each Gondola carrying 3 Guns, 2—9 pounders & one 12 pr.—this fleet is well manned and Commanded by General *Arnold*—The Number of Troops is near 15,000, but not many more than the one half fit for service. We expect the Regulars will attack us daily, it has been reported that our fleet was attacked by the enemy, as a considerable firing has been heard by some of our men who lie at Crown Point. Boats have been sent down but are not yet returned—The Army are in good Spirits now though much discouraged on their retreat—We do not agree very well with some of our neighboring Troops, otherwise we should do well enough—they are as much displeased with our ways

as we are with theirs—I have since I entered into the Service been obliged to shift for myself as well as I could, for I found I had no one as usual to apply to for assistance I cannot complain much, for though I have had hard living & ill lodging for a long time yet my health is good & able to bear with any thing almost that happens—I met with several acquaintances when I joined the army—Captains *Howel*[6] & *Shute*[7] & Lieu[t] *Bowen*[8] all of your Country. Cap[t] Howel has been a good deal unwell but is now recovering—I also found Parson McCalla,[9] who is since taken Prisoner & Nath. Donnell[10] a Lieu. in the Artillery, who was down in Cohansy some time with you—He is well & sends Compliments to Sister Betsy[11] others,—We have had an account of an attack at Long-Island but cannot as yet learn the Particulars, if they meet with ill Success there, we shall hardly be attacked here—We long to return that way, being all willing much rather to fight in our own country than abroad—I imagine we shall return the Latter end of Nov[r] or December when I will endeavour to make a trip to Deerfield—I must Conclude by assuring you that I am & still remain your's as ever.

Clinton.

John Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Dear Reading Bethlem 24[th] Sep[r]. 79—,

Mrs. Dubois has sent her Son up for a Vomit for the little Child who is ill of the Whooping Cough—please

---

[6] Capt. Howell of New Jersey.

[7] Capt. William Shute, 2d. New Jersey.

[8] Lieut. Seth Bowen, 2d. New Jersey.

[9] Chaplain Daniel McCalla, 2d. Pennsylvania Battalion.

[10] Lieut. Nathaniel Donnell, Pennsylvania Artillery.

[11] The Fithians lived on the Cohansy, in Cumberland County, N. J., some of them in the town of Greenwich, where, 22 Nov., 1774, the young men of the town, including Philip Vicars Fithian and his cousin Joel, dressed as Indians, destroyed a supply of tea in what was known as the Greenwich Tea Party. A monument has been erected in the town to commemorate this event.

to send with him what is proper—Anthony is somewhat Better—has but little Fever, but complains much of his throat—if you have any thing which may be of Service to him I shall thank you for it—

I am to inform you, that there is a distribution of Cloathing (in M^r^. Brook's hands), to be delivered out to-day & to-morrow—By the Generals order—You and the other Surgeons of Hospitals are included—I know your wants in this way, & would therefore advise you to set out to Newburgh immediately—as delays in this case may be dangerous—Will you call here, going there, or on your return—With Compliments to the Fraternity, I remain

D^r^. Reading
Yours &c.,
Jn^o^ Beatty.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Camp near Morristown Dec. 22, 79.

I just this moment Rec^d^. your letter dated Smoky Cabin, and I am very sorry for your Disagreeable Situation, but I think if you saw my Situation and way of living you would really Pity me, for colder weather I never saw in this time of year, and we are yet in our cold tents, we have just got the men in their Hutts, and it is so cold we cant get ours built, and what is worse than all we scarcely got anything to Eat,—I have not seen the Col yet and I think he dont want to see me for I hear he lives or quarters about 4 miles from Camp and he has never been to see me yet, but I intend not making myself any way uneasy about him, for I think he has a better opportunity of coming to see me than I him—I intend going home in about two weeks or three. I would go sooner only as I am Pay Master to the Reg^t^. I have the Cloathing to give out and money to pay the Men which will take me that time, if you have

any secret Commands to send to Princeton or elsewhere I shall be very happy in delivering them safe if they come before that time—You mention that "you suppose before now that I am acquainted with Cap^{t} Buker—Indeed I am—& I'll tell you how—As soon as we join'd the main Army him and one Mr. Stoddeford apply'd for their Rank in our Reg^{t}. which would have been before all the Sub^{s} in the Reg^{t} we thought it was rather hard treatment, and we Remonstrated to Head Q^{rs} begging that they will not be put in the Reg^{t} at the same time saying if they do the Sub^{s} now in the Reg^{t} will Immediately Resign, which will be the Case certainly if they do come; but we have Rec. No answer as yet, nor the two gentlemen have not got any order to join, altho they say they are very certain they will, and I am afraid it will end with bad consequences for we have gone so far that we can't get out any way but by Resigning which I expect will be the case but I dont intend doing any thing Rashly, but what we have done we will stand by—Cap^{t} Tudor[12] has his Compliments to you, I believe I forgot telling you that he & I has always messed together since he joined the Reg^{t}—Cap^{n}. Sproat[13] send his Compliments he is now A. D. Camp to Gen^{l} Hand & expects to go to Penn^{a} in a few Days,—I am very sorry you cant go to Penn^{a} this winter as I expected to spend some time with you this winter, but I think I am born to hard fortune but, perhaps I'll come & see you before Spring, I think my letter is just about as long as yours and I'll stop with the expectations that you will write always as long and frequent

Adieu

E. Beatty.

P.S. I have heard nothing from home.

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[12] Capt. George Tudor, 3rd Penna. Battalion; taken prisoner at Fort Washington; Captain 4th Penna. Line; Major 5th Penna. Line April, 1780; retired January 17, 1781.

[13] Capt. William Sproat, 4th Pennsylvania.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Camp near Morristown Christmas Day Dec. 25th 79.
Dr Brother,

Which I believe I forgot to mention in my last, but however you'll Excuse me for I was in haste & burnt my letter which you'll see—Well, I must acknowledge you are one of the best brothers, and best Correspondents that ever I knew. I Recd your letter Dated Nov. 28th, and I imidiately returned an answer which I hope you Recd, the next evening brother J. Came to see me and I Recd another letter Dated Dec. 6th, which you mentioned you sent by Dr. A. Baird[14] but I had not the Pleasure of seeing him. The next Day I Recd another letter Dated Dec. 20th, which I believe I will take in hand to answer, you think I am grown something lazy in not writing to you, I am Determined to convince you of that for I'll bother you with long letters and a great many of them & Perhaps chief of them Nonsense, the next thing you Desire that I should give you Advice about quitting the service—Indeed you apply'd to the wrong person for I am in the same predicament as you will see by my last letter, and it is now settled that I will quit and you may use your pleasure, but if you Resign call on me & we will both go together—but first I must consult brother J. on the occasion as he is now gone to Princeton to eat his Christmas Dinner but will be up again in a few Days, but I am almost Certain he will not be of my Opinion nor I dont suppose you will either, but as I said in my last, I have gone so far I cannot recant with any honor at all—I am just down from dinner about half Drunk, all dined together upon good roast & boiled, but in a Cold hut, however grog enough will keep out cold for which there is no Desiring, tomorrow we all dine at one with the Colonel, which

[14] Surgeon Absalom Baird of Penna., Baldwin's Artillery Artificers. Retired March 29, 1781.

will be another excellent dinner and I think you may call that fair living, but Ah! I am afraid it wont last many Days—The huts about four miles from Morristown near a place caller Mendham. . . . . Capt Sproat is here and Desires to be Remembered to you. . . . . I am very busy in Delivering the mens Cloathing in about two weeks I'll set off for home I hope—Damn the Nonsense I was going to say but I will quit and Remain your

Affectionate Brother
Erkuries.

John Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Comr Prisr Office
Janr 24, 1780.

My dr Brother,

Your Favour of the 9th Inst. is before me—You are welcome to the advice my last contained & I shall be fully rewarded, provided it has been of any service to you—I expected some time since to have paid a visit, to our Friends over the Mountains, & was upon the Eve of setting out, but was put in Mind from HeadQuarters, that my time was not my own—How sweet is liberty & the indulging our inclinations as we please—this thought with the great decrease of my little all, has at length determined me to forsake the Soldier & become the citizen—You will perhaps be surprised, but believe me 'tis true—perhaps the lancet, the glister pipe, may afford me a more comfortable Subsistance. This or some other Business you will find me employed in should you do us the favour of a visit—I am glad to find you are better reconciled to your Lott, than you at first expected—I wish it may prove agreable to you —as I see the appearance at present for you coming into the line in the way of your profession, which I would advise you by all means to pursue—a Lieuty in the Artillr. I could procure you—but think it would

not suit—of this give me your opinion—I am sorry to hear of Mrs. Clintons Death,[15] but it was no more than we expected—she was old & very infirm, when we left there—Should you go to Bethlem you will please to make my Comp^{s}. to all Friends & tell them my best wishes attend them—& remember Love & a Kiss to the Girls—Mrs. Beatty has been with me this three weeks —She & little Dick[16] are well, & beg their Love to you— She returns toMorrow to take care of her pig & chickens —*a secret*—Sister Betsy is to be married, the second week in next month—wont it possibly be in your power to come down—She would be very desirous of seeing you then—Mr. Joel Fithian[17] a widower from Deerfield, or Cohansie is the man for her Money—a tight Match you will say—however it is so—Her partiality for that Country may have been one inducement—a good Fat farmer another—& probably a Husband at any rate, the leading one—Come down if you can—if not write me frequently—Comp to Brooks[18] is he dead or married

As ever yours—
Jn°. Beatty

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Camp January 25th. 1780.

My Dear Reading—

Your Favour of the 9th Instant came to hand a few Days ago, and obliged to answer it from Camp, which is very Disagreeable to me, but how can I help it,—I

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[15] Mrs. Charles Clinton, m. n. Elizabeth Denniston d. 25 Dec. 1779.

[16] Richard Longstreet Beatty, son of Col. John Beatty b. 11 Feb. 1779, graduated at Princeton 1797. Member of New Jersey Legislature; d. July 22, 1846.

[17] Joel Fithian represented his county several times in the New Jersey Legislature; d. Nov. 1821.

[18] John Brooks, Adjutant 6th Penna. Battalion 1776; Assistant Commissary of Issues 1777–1780. John Beatty was formerly in this battalion.

must tell that I have lately involved myself in the greatest trouble I believe I was ever in, which is this, after we came off the expedition there was no Pay Master to the Regt. the officers thought proper to appoint me, when we join'd the Army I found I had to do the Duty of Regiment Clothier to, which is the Cause of all my trouble, for I have lately drew Cloathing for the Regt & it is almost all to make up from the Cloth all which I must oversee, which keeps me very Close confined—If you was just now to step into my Hutt (which is only a very small Room if it ever got finished) I will tell you just how you would find me, for to give you a small scrap of my trouble—You'll find me sitting on a Chest, in the Center of Six or Eight Taylors, with my Book, Pen & Ink on one side and the Buttons and thread on the other—the Taylors yo'll find some A Cutting out, others sewing, outside of the taylors you will see maybe half Dozen Men naked as Lazarus, begging for Cloathing, all about the Room you will see nothing but Cloth & Cloathing, on the floor you'll find it about knee deep with Snips of Cloth & Dirt—If you stay any time you'll hear every Minute knock-knock at the door & I calling walk in, others going out, which makes a Continual Bussle—presently I begin to swear, sometimes have to jump up blundering over two or three taylors to whip somebody out of the house—othertimes Tudor and my Mess Mates they begin to swear, & with our Swearing, and the taylors singing (as you know they must), and the Men a grumbling . . . . makes pretty Music for your Ear, and thats the way from morning to night, & from Weeks End to weeks end, & I am sure I need not complain for want of Company as you do such as it is—& what makes it a good Deal worse I think of nothing but getting a Change which makes me a good Deal fretfull—

Yesterday I rode out as far as our Brothers quarters and spent the day with him & his wife who came up

from Princeton to see him, which is the only agreeable Day I have had this 4 Weeks—I inclose a letter from Brother John to you, in which he tells me he has written very pressing for you to come down to Princeton for what I suppose he has told you, as yesterday was the first I heard of it, and expect to see them enter into their vows, and I flatter myself that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you at the same time or before—as you come Down your nearest way will be by Camp, you will find my hutt on the Right of Gen^{l} Hand's Brigade, you will know by the soldiers running in & out—and if you come we will both go together, and if we Ride over will go first to Princeton & then to Penn^{a}—Now my Dear Reading I hope you will leave no Stone unturned if you can Possibly get away . . . day & night, or as you advised me when I lived with Winneiry if no other way would do to Run away, for I'll Never forgive you if you dont come, if you have it in your power, but if it is an Impossibility for you to Come be sure write me before the latter end of Next week for about that time I will go, or never—As for the Disturbance in the Reg^{t} the Gentleman is not yet come in but I believe he will, I havn't advised Brother John about it yet, but it is time enough when the gentleman joins the Reg^{t} but you may Rely on it I intend doing nothing inconsiderately or unadvisedly but I flatter myself that I have served so far in the Reg^{t}. with honour, and rather than be guilty of any thing Dishonourable I want to quit the Service—but I am in hopes it will be settled yet amicably & with honour to both parties—I am very sorry you are so lonesome, but when you get acquainted with those acomplished Ladies you talk of you will spend you time more agreeable I am in hopes; and if long letters is any satisfaction to you, I'll warrant this shall be long enough for I intend filling it full—

You talk as if in the Spring you had a Notion of

quitting the Service, and to settle yourself for life, and you seem to talk of being blest with some fair one who would lull all your cares to Rest—I should be glad to know if you have fixed upon any one of those Northern ladies, that you think you could make your life happy with. If so fetch her Down to Princeton, let us have two Weddings in the Family at once which will save great expense & trouble—I send this by Lt. Gn. Dennison who says he will deliver to you in person, if so I beg you would not treat him like a Stranger, as he is a person of my intimate acquaintance, and what you may call a pretty clever fellow & I know that your group of Hospitals is very seldom wanting a Glass of wine or a good Draught of grog, & I think what is good for sick people cant be very bad for well—Oh that I was there one Evening I would shew you what drinking wine was,—I'll warrant I'd give it a sweat if I got hold of it—There is one Lt. Tapp[19] likewise of the York line I understand lives in F'ish Kill, a Gentleman of my acquaintance, and a very Clever fellow if you see him give my kind Compliments to him—As for Brother George[20] I have heard nothing from him att all, and am very uneasy about him, thinking he is on a very fair way of ruining himself—Bill[21] I understand is learning to be a taylor. Did you ever hear the like? to think that Messrs Erwin & Wynkoop[22] could not find a gentiler occupation for the boy than a D——d Snyder

[19] William Tapp, 2d. Lieut. Nicholson's Continental Regiment, March 1776; 1st. Lieut. 3d New York, Nov. 1776; resigned 20 March 1780.

[20] He went to sea at an early age, and when last heard from in 1785, was about to sail for North Carolina.

[21] William Pitt Beatty, did not continue in the trade so obnoxious to his brother, but often engaging in several business ventures, went to Columbia, Penna., when he was Secretary and Treasurer of the Susquehanna Turnpike Co., and also of the York and Susquehanna Turnpike Co. He married 8 Nov. 1799, Eleanor Polk, daughter of John Polk and Rebecca Gilbert of Neshaminy, Penna.

[22] Samuel Erwin Esq. and Judge Henry Wynkoop, the executors of Rev. Charles Beatty's will.

and without ever Consulting Brother John about it, do write me your sentiments of the matter—I believe I will conclude with the most Sanguine Expectations of seeing you here in twelve Days from the Date hereof, I am D^r^. Reading

Your very affectionate
& loving Brother
Erkuries

To
Doctor Reading Beatty
Fish Kill.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Camp March 13^th^ 1780.

My Dear Reading

I dont doubt but you will be somewhat surprised when you see me write from camp and no News from Penn^a^ but I can soon give you a very good Reason for it, and that greatly to my mortification, in a very few words, that is, I could not get home, I have made frequent applications to the Gen^l^ but as oftentimes Refused, till I was quite tired and mad, and then I thought I might as well submit to my hard fortune and endeavour to spend my time in Camp as agreeable as I could which if it would not be too tedious for your Ear, I would Relate the most material circumstances which happened since I wrote you last, but I suppose of late you are so taken with the agreeable company of the Young Ladies that you can't scarcely devote one Minute to my Service—this I take from your long Silence for I never received no answer to my last which is a great while ago—I believe I informed you of Cap^t^ Tudor & I going to Princeton to see Sister Betsy married and was Disappointed for in about two hours after we came away the groom came and was married that evening, and next day went off for Cohansie which is the last I

heard of them, a little while after that, I got leave of absence for three Days to go see Aunt Mills[23] and Uncle Read[24] who lives about 12 Miles from here it was excessive bad riding and it was near night when I got at Aunt Mills where I found them all well, Aunt Hacket[25] being gone to Sussex I had not the pleasure of seeing her, that night Cousin Polly[26] and me set off a Slaying with a number more young People and had a pretty Clever Kick-up, the next Day Polly and I went to Uncle Reads who lives about 4 Miles from Aunts, here I found Aunt Read and two great Bouncing female cousins and a house full of smaller ones, here we spent the Day very agreeably Romping with the girls who was exceeding Clever & Sociable only every once in a while they would have a stretch upon Toryism, (you know the family is that way) but I always endeavoured to evade it by changing the discourse; in the afternoon the whole bunch of us went out a Slaying, and about Dusk returned, when I found Uncle Read had come home, he treated me exceedingly kind, after spending a hour or two, we came home, my time being expired I had return to Camp the next day, after a very agreeable J'ant—afterwards I was at two or three Dances in Morristown, one in particular at Cap^{t} Binneys who made great inquiry after you, and I believe you have been a very great gallant when you lived here as the young ladies makes very Strict inquiry about you, likewise I have been at a Couple of Dances at my

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[23] Aunt Mills was Mary Reading, bapt. 8 Aug. 1736, daughter of Governor John Reading of N. J. She married the Rev. William Mills, and died 4 April, 1794.

[24] Uncle Read was Augustine Reid, who married Sarah, daughter of Governor John Reading.

[25] Aunt Hackett was Elizabeth, daughter of Governor John Reading, and the wife of John Hackett, Esq.

[26] Mary Mills, b. 20 Feb. 1763, married 1 Oct. 1787, Doctor Robert Halsted, a prominent physician of Elizabeth, New Jersey.

Brother John's Quarters at Battle hill where I spend the evenings very agreeable, and when I can frolick no where else I do it at home with some of my friends, as I am Determined to Drive all care away, and be contented with the thoughts of ever spending any time from Camp with my friends or Relations—

I suppose you heard of Brother Jo's being arrested for trading with the Enemy,[27] and was tried and Received a very severe Reprimand from H^d^ Q^rs^ in Gen^l^ orders, the next Day he sent in his Resignation to Head Quarters, but they told him he must go to Congress to Resign, and I believe he has wrote them, he is now down at Amboy with Commissioners from our Army and from the British settling a Case—I have heard nothing from Penn^a^ lately one of my Serg^ts^ a few Days ago Returned from furlough and says George[28] has been in Philad^a^ bur never went home and is gone to sea again—I shall expect you down agreeable to promise this Spring, When yo'll find no taylors about me, as the Reg^t^ is Clothed but in as good a hutt as any in our Brigade—Pray Excuse haste, as the bearer will go off in about 3 Days, and I will remain your ever loving & affectionate Brother,

Erkuries.

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[27] From an Orderly Book kept by Colonel Francis Johnston of the Second Penna. Regt.: "In the early part of the month of February in the year 1780, one John Beaty, esq'r 'commissary of prisoners,' was tried by general court martial on a charge of 'improper intercourse with the City of New York,' in having written there for and introduced sundry articles from thence contrary to the resolve of Congress. Beaty was found guilty. Washington in speaking of Beaty's offence, says: 'The general thinks Mr. Beaty's Conduct in this Instance exceedingly reprehensible; in his situation he ought to have observed a peculiar Delicacy; the whole tenor of the Evidence Introduced by himself show that he was well aware of the Impropriety of the Intercourse, & though he may have generally discountenanced it, it is not an excuse from the present deviation, etc.' Mr. Beaty was, however, released from arrest."

[28] George Beatty, brother of the writer.

John Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Com^{r}. Pris^{n}. Office
Ist May. 1780.

My D^{r}. Brother

I was happy to find by Maj^{r} Van Waggenen,[39] that you were well in Health, altho you did not think it worth while to give me a line—I cannot say however, I could reasonably have expected such a favour, considering the Ballance against me in this Case—I am content, if in my retired situation, you will now & then think of Windsor Hall near Princeton—I left M^{rs} Beatty & Dick well a few days since & am now here, with a View to close my affairs in my late Department. New troubles I find, arise on this score also, and there is the utmost difficulty in doing a little Business with these great people so much Ceremony & Form is to be gone thro, that I was Eight days in Philad^{a}. and could do nothing more, than barely lodge my acc^{t}. with a promise, that perhaps in a Month a leisure hour might arise, in which they could be attended to—I grow out of all patience with such dilatory conduct, & am daily more & more happy in the reflection of being disingaged from all public Buisness—My little Farm affords me much amusement & some Profits—I hope to cultivate it to more advantage this year— I find the repairs expensive, but feel the more reconciled from the Prospect of future Gains—I shall not attempt the beginning of the practice of Physic, untill towards the Fall—My affairs will not admit of it & besides I feel extreamly awkward in the way of my profession & shall require some reading & brushing up—I have been attempting to procure you the Care of a Regiment in the Pen^{a}. Line, but some uneasiness prevailing among the Surgeons & a Prospect of a reduction of some of the Reg^{t}.

[39] Major Garret H. Van Waggenen, of New York, Deputy Commissary of Prisoners.

render it impracticable at present—perhaps you may have also, some other schemes in View—a good Wife, with a little fortune, will prepare the way exceedingly well, for sitting down in the Country to Business, if this is your View. I should be very sorry to break in upon your plan—advise me what I can do for you & nothing in my power shall be wanting.

Our public affairs at present look but gloomy—we are anxious to hear from the Southard & yet afraid of disagreable News from that Quarter—our latest acct^{s}. are the 8th ult^{o}. a Number of the Enemies Vessels had pass'd the Bar & are supposed to be in full possession of the harbour. The natural situation of the place & the difficult Navigation of the Channel were I confess the grand Bulwarks on which I had founded my hopes of Success at that Port—& my fears are much increased, since the latter has failed us—Gen^{l}. Clinton has every thing to stimulate him, in the reduction of the Garrison, having before been foiled there & you may rest assured the Conflict will be warm & bloody, our troops being determined to sacrifice every thing in their opposition—I hope for the best, but dread the Consequences—a Reinforcement of 15 Sail of the Line —Frigates &ca—with 10,000 Men, have certainly arrived at Martinique, & perhaps some Gale, favourable to the Cause of America—may waft some of them to these Coasts—this indeed would be great, & relieve all our doubts & difficulties—But I must stop, or I shall tire your patience with my scribling—I shall return the latter end of this week & have only to say, we shall be glad at all times to hear of your wellfare & to see you at our little Hermitage at Princeton

I am with great affection
D^{r} Reading,
Yours
Jn^{o}. Beatty—

Please to have the inclosed delivered safely & Kiss all

the Girls for me—Comp[s] to Brooks & other Acquaintances—

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Camp May 1[st] 1780.

My Dear Reading,

It is with the greatest Pleasure Imaginable that I embrace this Opportunity by our Cousin Capt[n]. Gregg[20] of informing you that I receive your letters very Regular by the Post and am always happy to have it my Power to answer you, in hopes that you will continue your letters every week, and at the same time rest assured that I will write every opportunity—

What I wrote you in my last concerning being Surgeon to the 11[th] Reg[t] is not gone yet much farther only Capt[n] Tudor spoke to Colo. Hubely who said he had no objections, but Brother J. (whose Resignation is accepted of) I expect up every day and then he will have the Matter settled—As for Stidderford and Bukers coming in Reg[t] I'll tell you they are here without any Commissions & we wont let them do duty till their Rank is settled; but I believe they will come in spite of us, which I shall be very sorry for, as I am afraid it will Kick up a Rumpus—As for News I will refer you to Cap[t]. Gregg, such as about the French Ambassador[21] being at Head Quarters, & the army behaviour on the occasion, & the Spanish Noblemans[22] Dying here & his

[20] Captain James Gregg, son of James Gregg, Esq., and Mary, sister of Rev. Charles Beatty. He was commissioned Captain in the 3rd New York, 21 Nov. 1776, was wounded and scalped by Indians near Kingston, New York, 13 Oct. 1777. He was transferred to the 1st New York, 1 January, 1783, and served until 3 June, 1783.

[21] The Chevalier de la Luzerne.

[22] Don Juan de Miralles, representative of the Spanish Court before the American Congress. "The style in which he was buried is said to have surpassed in magnificence that of any other burial ever occurring at the county seat of Morris. His coffin was covered on the outside with rich black velvet, and lined with fine cambric. For burial, he wore a scarlet suit, embroidered with gold lace, a gold-laced hat, a wig carefully cued, white silk stockings and diamond shoe and knee buckles.

Burial, and news from southard & every other thing you please, as he knows as much as I do & may be more —but I must tell you about the D^{rs}. of the Penn^{a} Line, sometime ago they Petitioned to the Governor about I believe not allowing them half Pay and some other things, a few days ago Gen^{l}. Hand rec^{d}. a letter from the Governor in which he has snub'd them very much about it & put them all exceeding angry. Yesterday the D^{rs} of the Line had another meeting but what they did I dont know, & I think by the Governors writing, the Hospital Surgeons has been Petitioning, in which they have got nothing, for he says, when a surgeon enters into a Hospital they are not considered to belong to one State more than another—If I had Paper I would tell you about a sort of a . . . dance I was at two Nights ago when we kicked up a Hell of a Dust. But stop

E. Beatty.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Camp May 29th 1780.

Dear Reading,

The York troops this Day march for the Northward by whom I send this letter, I beg you will excuse for the Shortness of it, altho I am sensible you deserve a whole sheet yet the Duty is so hard, that both Officers & soldiers has not above one Night in bed as for my Part I did not sleep one Wink last Night—I rec^{d} yours

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On his fingers appeared a profusion of diamond rings, and suspended from a superb gold watch were several seals richly set with diamonds. The honorary pallbearers were six field officers, and on the shoulders of four artillery officers in full uniform, the actual pallbearers, he was borne to the grave. The chief mourners were Washington and other officers of high rank, and several members of the American Congress. A procession extending over a mile, composed of army officers and representative Morristown citizens, followed the remains to the grave, while minute guns were fired by the artillery. A Spanish priest performed the last rites at the grave."

Dated May 22d but have not yet seen Dr Shute nor Recd that letter, but if you will continue to write as frequent as you have heretofore done, and it shall ever be acknowledge by your brother Ark—You wrote me about a Vacancy that was in the 7th Regt I have not had time yet to enquire about it, but will make it my Particular buisness, one of these Days and will Report to you the first opportunity—I now hear a very heavy firing of Cannon and Musquetry which is four Battalions Maneuvering at Morristown before Marquis De La Fayette, and I am very sorry I had not the Chance of seeing them—I have nothing Particular to write you, there is a great deal of News in Camp about French fleets, and French troops coming to assist us, but I had rather see them than hear tell of them—our affairs to the Southward goes on very well—I suppose you heard the honour that the French King has conferr'd on his Excellency Genl Washington[23]—No news lately from home—

I am in expectation of seeing you every Day, I am Dear Reading with the greatest love & affection Yours &c

E. Beatty.

John Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Windsor Hall[24]
16th Augt. 1781.

My Dr. Brother,

Your favour of the 4th Inst. reach'd me Yesterday & I feel myself indebted to you for this second letter, since I wrote you—indeed it is but seldom we find opertunitys directly to your place & they may lay a Month in Philads before they would find a passage to

[23] The title of Field Marshal of France, about which much controversy raged.

[24] Windsor Hall was the residence of Col. John Beatty, near Princeton, N. J.

Lancaster—I am happy to hear the Officers wounded in the late action are in a state of recovery, more especially Crosby,[35] whom we had reason to fear was mortally wounded—I look upon him to be a promising young man & of an agreable, easy disposition—I like not your separation of the Dutch Girl from the Conostoga Waggon, as you say you mean shortly to make a spirited attack upon one *or* other of them—the former is in my opinion the only safe road to the latter (exclusive of the delicate enjoyment of a fine ruddy face, ...) unless (as you say Congress are wanting in the Materials to make the *One thing needfull*) you do yourself this Justice & with a Gallantry & Address irresistable, you sally forth Don Quixotte like & attack & plunder a Conostoga Waggon—Money is certainly a Necessary Ingredient—in human Happiness & from the general pursuit of it by all Mankind, we have reason to believe it is the principal—I have often heard the old proverb, "that Money makes the Mare go" You can verify it, if we only substitute the Horse, for the Mare, but we flatter ourselves, this will not long be the Case & that we shall have the pleasure of seeing you about the last of Sep^{r}.—the family & all friends are well & desire their love to you—adieu—Be Merry & Happy—

Yours affectionately

J. Beatty.

Unsigned letter from Reading Beatty to his brother John.[36]

Dear Brother—

I received your's of y^{e} 20th Inst. inclosed in one from M^{r}. Riddle, & I am glad to hear of the Welfare of you, & your little Family—Yes, we are sent here on the business of recruiting, & would they only supply us with

[35] Captain-Lieutenant Jesse Crosby of Pennsylvania Artillery wounded at Green Springs, July 6, 1781.

[36] The date of this is fixed by that of the preceding letter, as August 1781; and the place Lancaster, Penna.

a sufficient Quantity of hard Money, we should not be here so long, as perhaps you imagine, but at present we have but dull prospects of filling our Regt.—I have never seen a prettier place than Lancaster,—except Philad[a]—the Streets are very regular, & some of the houses are neat, tho' there are others the contrary—The Inhabitants being generally German, puts sociability out of the Question; tho' there are some very genteel English Families, & they say the young Ladies of the place, are in disposition, quite contrary to the Gentlemen.—Since my arrival here, I have kept myself very retired, & formed no acquaintance, except Moylan's Regt There is a Detachment of Horse going off to the Southward in a few days, under the Command of Capt. Heard.[37]—I cannot say I will follow your Advice respecting marrying a Dutch Girl, with a good Plantation & a Conostoga Waggon, tho' if I could get the two latter, without the Incumbrance of the former, I should hardly pass them by; but as that is not very likely, I must give over all thoughts of either.

The Convention Troops are on the March to N[w]. England—The Hessians passed through here a few days ago, in number, I believe about 1100—The British halted in this Town—there have been now confined in the Barracks, of British & Refugee Prisoners near upon 1500, tho' part of them will march to the Eastward, as soon as a proper Guard can be procured.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Quarters near York Town Augt 19th 1781.

Dear Reading,

When I wrote you last by Mr Bloune, I believe I informed you that I was going to York and expected to have seen you here, but find now I shall not, without you can come up and see me which I don't much expect,

[37] John Heard, of New Jersey, Captain 4th Continental Dragoons.

however I arrived here this Day week ago, with Mr. McCullam,[88] and upward of thirty men, which I am commandant of, and was Billetted about a mile from town on Quakers, I have took my quarters in one of the best houses, to appearances, but owned by a Rigid old Quaker and of course a Damn'd Tory, but as I intend never to enter on Politicks with him I hope he and I will not fall out but we have frequent disputes on Religion but all to little purpose as I believe there will be no conversion on either side. When we came here he gave me one of the best rooms in the House, with a good bed in it, and we live with the family not as I would wish, but as I can, since McCullam returned to Carlisle which was two or three Days ago I am left all alone; and find myself very lonesome as I dare not go to town, for I have neither money nor yarn as the saying is, and I chiefly sit all Day in my room, either reading or seriously reflecting on my past happiness, which I am afraid, I shan't soon again experience. As I was saying, I had a good deal of time on my hands, I would willingly devote part of the Day to your pleasure, if I had any subject worth while writing on, but as nothing else is in my thoughts only Carlisle that of consequence must be the subject. Well, perhaps you may have occasion to go there some time in your life, and perhaps have not me there or some other good friend to introduce you to those agreeable fair sex. Suppose now I give you a character of them each individually, to the best of my Knowledge, will you have patience to hear me out and laugh at my folly when you have done? and if it don't be amusement to you consider it will be passing away an hour or two of my time. 1. Miss Betsy Miller pretty much inclining to an old maid, not handsome, but very sensible, a great reader, and a great favourite of Jack Hughes, perhaps before this

[88] John McCullam, 1st Lieut. 4th Penna. Line.

married. 2d is Miss Sally Posth a pretty young lady, possessed of a great deal of sympathy, friendship, and good nature, but believe her heart is engaged to a Citizen. 3d you will find the three Miss Montgomerys, 1st is Hetty, about four or five & twenty, and midling handsome, rather given to too much pride, and backbiting, but her favourites will find her very agreeable, next is Sidney, not quite so handsome, but very affible, friendly and good natured and more industrious than any of that family—the other is Jinny, outruns the other two in beauty, but is puff'd up with affectation, yet some think her very . . . . 6th in going down Street you will find Miss Nancy Stevenson about 5 or 6 & twenty, very engaging look and extremely Genteel, is sensible & satirical, but very good Company and kind—7th is Miss Jinny Holmes, altho her father is a tory, it makes her none the worse, She is very merry, and reckoned handsome, on account of beautiful dimples she has got in her cheeks, is a very agreeable partner at a Dance, and got an elegant head of hair. 8th is Miss Bekky Miller, rather got a sourness in her looks but is very good Natured, and industrious, has had a good many suitors in her time altho possessed of no pride, and is about 19 or twenty, her father will be able to give her a very good fortune if he pleases, and I think she will make a good wife. 9th is Miss Neely Poak, by no means a pretty girl, but a very good one, has good sence, industry, Friendship &—I believe will soon be married to a Citizen—9th [He apparently made an error in counting. Ed.] you must now step over to the works, where you will find the two Miss Serjiants, 1st is Sally very genteel and Dressy though not very handsome, thinks herself much of a Lady, and would always wish to be in very genteel company, 2d Molly is much handsomer and more sociable and genteel, but both of them have had good educations, and been politely bred, as they formerly lived in Amboy, Jersey, till the Enemy

drove them away and I believe destroyed chief' their fortunes, but they are as polite, and fashionable girls as they have in town. 11th if you look sharp hereabouts you will find one Miss Nancy Irish, very pretty & delicate, but is much on the Reserve, keeps very little company, therefore I know but little about her. 12th now you must go one Mile up the spring when you will find Miss Jenny Blair a ministers Daughter, a wild rattling harum-scarum young girl yet possessed of natural wit enough, but very passionate, and midling handsome, she has got an elder sister as much in every thing to the contrary, but have no acquaintance with her. 13th you now go to the country, about 3 Mile from town, above it, this is Miss Nanny Auter (?), a pretty modest discreet well behaved girl, very reserved & hard to be acquainted with, but don't doubt she will get married to a young fellow living in the house with her, as she never associated much with us—14th four mile higher up you will see Miss Sally Sample, midling handsome, and genteel person, very lively, witty, sociable and kind, possessed of a great deal of love and friendship, she is about 18 years old and not possessed of a very good fortune, tho' Dresses very genteel—15th about four mile across the country from there you may see Miss Polly Smith, her perfections is her engaging Eyes, sensibility, and friendship. Her father is very Rich and she has had a great many Courtiers, and am informed she is a little of a Coquette, but she is thought to be a very good girl which I believe she is. She is now at the warm Springs in Virginia, as her Constitution is weakly.

All these attended our Assemblies, besides a buxom Rich widow, two old maids, three or four young Girls that have got married, with a number of married ladies in the town—I could enumerate a great many more young ones to you between the ages of 18 and 15 but as we were never admitted into the company of those above mentioned being too young it is not worth while;

but some of them are very handsome and agreeable, likewise there is one Miss Nancy Armstrong Neice to Gen[l] Armstrong, but happened to be illy. . . . She is thought by every person that ever saw her to be the prettiest girl in town, and I think she is very handsome, goes extremely Genteel, and is very sensible, but Reserved—keeps but very little company.

I think I have given you their characters as correct and impartial as I possible could, and now I would be glad to know from them who you would most admire and as I have a favourite among the ones mentioned try if you can guess which of them it is.

Last evening I spent in town with some young ladies, hearing them play on the Spinnet, being my first introduction among the Ladies here, but I believe I shan't improve it much as I don't enjoy their company with much satisfaction—

your affectionate brother,

Erkuries.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Quarters near Yorktown 27[th] August 81.

Dear Brother,

Not so clever a fellow neither as you think perhaps, at least he has not treated you nor me very well, for when he came here he left your letter of the 17[th] at Colo. Hartleys,[39] and went down to Baltimore, returned here, & set off again to Lancaster or Philad[a] and the Day before yesterday Doctor Rodgers,[40] happened to see it at Colo. Hartleys, and sent it out to me, which made it a mere accident that I got it at all, I suppose you form your acquaintance like Billy Gray, at first sight if they give him a drink of Grog and chat with him midling sociable, he immediately says, "they are Damn'd clever fellows," but after he comes to be better acquainted

[39] Thomas Hartley, formerly Colonel 11th Penna. Line.

[40] Surgeon John R. B. Rodgers, 1st Penna. Line.

with him, or them, find 'em no great things, altho' I cant say but M^r^. Hatzinger may be a clever fellow enough, as I never yet have been introduced to him, but have to his sister, and spent some little time with her & find her not very handsome, but I believe a good sensible girl—So the Parson[41] has outgeneral'd his wife at last, and caught her in a Dirty act indeed, and I think M^r^. Fenton has suffered his share in the Squabble to, but I think he may be glad he escaped with his life, for I'll warrant the parson was full of Resentment, and there never was a better congregation to publish such a thing than his own, I suppose it has reached the ears of his friends in Faggs Manor before this, therefore I think he need not be at the trouble & expense of publishing it, in the Newspapers, for People in general in the State will know it very soon—Oh, poor 'shaminy (Neshaminy) what are you reduced to, I think you are at a low ebb indeed, to have your minister wearing a pair of Horns—I am yet all alone, but expect Bevins[42] & McCullam here tomorrow with upwards of forty more men, and then I shall be able to spend my time more agreeable—I Rec^d^ yours of the 21^st^, and am very anxious to have an answer to mine of the 19^th^. till then I am silent, but yet your

affectionate & loving Br.
Erkuries.

John Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Windsor Hall,
10^th^ Sep^r^ 1781.

My Dr. Brother

M^r^. M^c^Conaghy affords me the agreable opertunity of writing you, altho his Stay will admit of but a short letter.

The late movements of the Army & the Scene of

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[41] Rev. Nathaniel Irwin, minister at Neshaminy, Penna.
[42] Giles Bevans, 4th Penna. Line.

operations about to open, seem to have absorbed every other idea, it makes up the whole Subject of conversation & indeed is the Ultimatum of every Body. The Enemy in New York, not having the most distant thought of such a stroke, have been kept in the most perfect Ignorance & Security, binding their whole Force & plan of defence in the protection of New York, & indeed if we succeed (as I have no doubt we shall) to the Southard, History will represent this as one of the most masterly strokes of Policy in the Com^{r} in Chief—exhibited this war—Sir Harry I believe is so panic struck, that he will remain an idle spectator to all that is going forward—altho some movements give us to Understand he means to make a lodgement some where in this state—others go so far as to threaten Philad^{a} but I fancy they are only Manuevers in the Cabinet & wholly speculative Deal—I wrote you not long since but have received no answer—M^{rs}. B. & Dick are well, as are all other Friends & be assured you have ours & their best wishes—

Adieu

Yours sincerely

Jn^{o} Beatty.

John Beatty to Reading and Erkuries Beatty.

Philadelphia, 16th July, 1782.

D^{r}. Brothers,

With a view to do a little Business, but principally to see this great *Raree Show*,[43] I am at this place, where I have not been for more than two years before. You will expect of me, I presume, some description of this great Entertainment—it is impossible to give you the particulars. Suffice it to say it partook more of Elegance than of pleasure & satisfaction. The largeness

[43] A reception given in Philadelphia by the French Ambassador in honor of the birthday of the Dauphin of France.

of the Company, together with the Heat of the Season, conspired not a little to this purpose. The profusion of Dress, however, made ample amends for every thing else. I am bold to say this city will vie with the first Courts in Europe for dissipation, luxury & extravagance, & sorry I am so young a Country should have so ill a precedent set them, as that of last evening, where inclination is already ripe for the utmost stretch of ambition. Many ladies went to the expense of 75 for the evening & few gentlemen appeared in less than Silk & Embroidery. We poor *Mohair Gentry* were obliged to stand aloof.

I write this in the midst of Company, and interrupted frequently by the circulation of the punch bowl. You will conceive this then as an apology for my many omissions as well as commissions, & I am to desire you will separately & alternately read this letter (if legible) as time will not admit my writing both of you. Mrs. B. & Master are tolerably well, as are most other Friends in our Village.

I return this afternoon & shall be glad at all times to hear from both or either of you.

I am, with much affection

Yours &c

Jn° Beatty

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Quarters near York Town 12th Sept^{r} 82.

Dear Reading,

To convince you that I am neither lazy nor my attention too much engaged, with one particular object, I send you the inclosed which I wrote and intended to have sent by L^{t} Puisy but sent it in town too late, but you may read such parts of it now as you see proper, and I will begin at the latter end of it—A few Days after I wrote the inclosed I began a much more agreeable life than I had for many Days past, the receiving

of your long letter (which I return you sincere thanks for) kept me sufficiently amused for two Days, then the arrival of Cap^{t} Campbell, L^{ts} M^{c}Cullam & Bevins, exalted my Spirits to a great Degree, and to compleat my happiness, in a few Days after was ordered to Carlisle, where I spent six Days in the greatest felicity, except being at the burial of Gen^{l} Thompson,[44] a man universally beloved and generally lamented.

We have been under marching orders this ten Days, therefore I think it hardly worth while to answer your long letter as fully as I would wish as I expect to see you very soon but think proper to inform you as well as Billy Gray is quite mistaken in the person I had in view, the Reason I wrote to Billy in that way was only to shagrine him as I knew she was his favourite—But the last letter you wrote of the 9th Inst. which I Rec^{d} yesterday quite amazed me, you have let your Imagination run to a quite greater Degree, than I would have wished, from my late stile of writing—Can you think I am bereft of my Senses, or run stark staring mad? Or can you conceive I had the least Idea of marriage in my head, to any Girl in Carlisle? Or at least do you imagine, even if it was the Case, do you think, that I would treat you who was so near, so excessively ill, being a elder Brother, and one that I love beyond expression, not to consult you, and inform you of it, a long time, No, for Gods sake never harbour such an ungrateful thought of me, as I flatter myself you will never find me Deserving of it—Well, I bought myself a German flute, with a full Determination of learning to play on it, beg you will by the first Opportunity that is safe, send me up one of your first books of instructions, with your necessary orders, and you shall see what improvements I make, when I see you which I hope will

[44] William Thompson, former Colonel 1st Penna. Battalion, Penna. Riflemen; taken prisoner at Three Rivers 8 June 1776, exchanged 25 Oct., 1780; died 3 Sept. 1781.

be soon—Lieuts Bevin & Prat[45] has their kind Compliments to you, Campbell is absent with his affairs. Please make mine to Officers of the 6th Regt and likewise of yours of my acquaintances and ever believe me to be Dear Reading

Your affectionate Brother
Erkuries.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Philada. Barrks 31st Dec. 82

Dear Reading

You were not at home on Saturday night agreeable to promise and I was at your house this morning & cannot find you, am now a setting out for Mr. Erwins where I will dine tomorrow with Mr. Pratt, and shall set out from there on Wednesday, (perhaps in the afternoon) on my way to Yorktown and Carlisle, should be happy if it is in your power to come out tomorrow, as I want to see you very much

I have left at Capt Mc Connels[46] for you, your case, Bottles Pistol Holsters and a small portmanteau lock which if you please to accept of, as I have got another one

If I dont see you pray write the first Opportunity and let me hear how Sister Betty is, and you shall find me as good a correspondent as usual.

I am Dr Reading yours affectionately
Erkuries.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Philada March 2d 1783.

Dr. Br.

I first recieved yours of the 23d & then of the 17— But halt—I have told you all this already, tho' not

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[45] John Pratt, Lieut. 4th Penna. Line. Served to the end of the war and then entered the U. S. Army, and resigned Dec. 5, 1793.

[46] Captain Nathan McConnel of Pennsylvania, who was transferred from Hazen's Regiment to the Invalid Regiment, 12 February, 1781, and served till June, 1783. He died 11 March, 1816.

answered either, as much to your Satisfaction I suppose as you could wish therefore to begin methodically I first shall answer your of the 17 Ult. and dont doubt in the least but you had a very agreeable jaunt with your favourite Lassy—I would wish if it did not too much interfere with your dispositions already formed, to lead me a little further into your amours with this Lady, & at the same time tell me how the next in Rotation of that family stands affected, for old Squire Erwin says, he has allotted her for me, but two such Rattlebrain creatures coming together I dont know when we shall find a house able to contain us—this is rather varying from the Subject I began upon—You say you left friends all well, got home safe & was very well satisfied, then I have to tell you that I sent two half Joes by Reeves to Sister Betsy—Inclosed is a Certificate how long you drew Subsistence money, make out your Amount for forage agreeable to it, & if any wood is due you within that time, make out it also, send them down & I will endeavour to transact the business for you—The Committee you mention on our Land affairs, & the several more which has been appointed since has done nothing but this day a Bill was read the third time & is to be published for Consideration, to open the Land Office, in which is mentioned that our Depreciation Notes Arrearages of pay & Commutation, Commis. . . . notes & every such thing, is to be taken in payment—that is all they are like to do in our way—I send you up with this some sort *not* of stuff to make you a pair of Breeches which cost a French Crown a Yard, as for the white stocks I never thought of them till this moment—I would rather advise you off getting any, however if you persist I will send you Stuff some time else—The tongs you mentioned I also send which I believe completes the answer of the first Letter—Now for the Second dated the 23^{d}ult, & here let me congratulate you again on the

happy Evening you spent in dancing with that sweet nymph—I know if it is not incompatible with your duty or rather Courtship you will lead me a little farther into those sweets—But alas, I am sorry to tell you, that no Surgeon whatever gets more Commutation than a Cap^{t} of Infantry, & every Surgeons pay throughout the Army was alike in late years—I this day called upon Parnel about the Seal, it is not quite done but he says it will be done on Friday, So I will send it up on Saturday if an oportunity presents—Christie was in town about a Week ago, or ten days & I gave him 100 Dollars of the Notes to exchange, but have not heard one word of him since and now I think I have answered both your letters (which is all I have received) except to apologise for not writing sooner—indeed I intended to have wrote last Saturday but unavoidable accidents prevented me—whether I shall get an opportunity to send this tomorrow morning or not I cant tell, am rather afraid I shall not as the Night appears to be a little Rainey—I Rec^{d} a letter from B^{r} John Dated 20 ult in which he desires his love to you nothing else particular—These few days past we have had Cap^{t} John Steel[47] with us, who on next Thursday night is to be joined in the holy bands of Matrimony with Miss Bailey, Sister I believe to Bailey the printer—at present I dont Recollect any thing more to tell you, but I will leave this letter open till tomorrow morning to see if I get an opportunity to send it & perhaps I will put something more in it—Good Night—Saturday morning, Mar. 6.—In continuation—as the Novels says—I searched all town last Market Day & not a single opportunity could I find, I again intend to sally out & see what this day produces—I Rec^{d} your letter of the 2 Inst. yesterday, & believe have answered your proposition respecting the Land in the beginning

[47] Capt. John Steel, of Lancaster, Penna. Francis Bailey was the well-known printer of Lancaster and Philadelphia.

of this—I having nothing more to say I believe in addition to this,—I delivered your inclosed Letters and send you one inclosed from Billy which I have had some time—I hear Congress is coming Back to the City in a Month or two and intends making it their *permanent* residence in future. . . .

Your Brother
Erkuries.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Philad^{a}. 20 March 1783.

D^{r} Brother

A few reduced Continental Officers, Captains of Ships, Irish Volunteers, Hatters prentices including as many other trades of the same likeness as there was people almost—Sexton & Bell ringer, Psalm singer & Clerk of Christ's Church & Doctors Mates on Stages, Damn'd droll sinners to be sure—In such a mixed company did I spend the evening of Patrick's day in a Dirty noisy tavern low down in Water Street—where we held out till 1 o'clock, and behaved exactly in character—A picked & select company it was too—I was obliged to think myself highly honored in getting introduced into it about 8 o'clock—but say nothing, I am now very thankfull I am clear of it without my head being broke, & if I dont hold my tongue I suppose I will yet—I intended to have wrote you a long letter last evening but M^{r} Erwin coming & staying with us all Night prevented —Jimmy McMichial who positively sailes for Ireland this day 11 o'clock came in had to go borrow money for him and give my Note for it, which indeed has put me in a very bad humour, and will make the Letter still shorter—. . . . a pleasant journey I wish you to make to Jersey—my Compliments to the people there,

Yours affectionately,
Erkuries.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Philad^{a}. 19th Novemb^{r}. 1783

Dear Reading,

Last Monday I evidently received your letter of Dated 14. by Cap^{t} Howell who picked it up at Funk's,[48] & Delivered it me, after some person had put a u between the A & T & made Cap^{t} *Beautty* of it, which caused a laugh all thro town, so I will be obliged to you to be a little more carefull, & send them some place I shall get them—likewise I got yours & M^{r}. Erwins by Capt Bradford [49] I send this by M^{r} Ramsay[50] one of your Holy Neighbours, with a pair of Andirons, Shovel Tongs & a Stick Blackball, all which Cost me money & not Notes,—burn 'em I can't get them off my hands—however I hope the things will please you, they are a pretty genteel fitt, if they are not too small—was at the Temple of Apollo last Monday Night when M^{r} Ryan[51] gave us some Excellent Music, ke'p us to almost ten oClock. By Eleven I may say & then he said he was sorry the law would not allow him to Act a play, & so we went home with Rochesters reflection "a fool & his money is soon parted"—M^{iss} Hide[52] sung two or three very fine songs, as she has an excellent voice, & we had two or three from Miss Wall[53] I am in a very

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[48] Probably Henry Funk, at the sign of the Bear, Second between Race and Vine Streets.

[49] Query, Capt. James Bradford of the Penna. Artillery; taken prisoner at Monmouth; aide-de-camp to Gen. Lord Stirling. Captain U. S. Artillery 1786, killed 4 Nov. 1791, in action with Miami Indians in Ohio.

[50] John Ramsay, an Elder in the Neshaminy Presbyterian Church.

[51] Mr. Ryan was prompter of the company and appeared occasionally as an actor at the theatre in Southwark.

[52] Durang says, Miss Hyde, of the company, came to Philadelphia from the West Indies. She sang "Tally Ho!" between the play and the farce.

[53] Miss Wall made her debut in 1782, as the Duke of York in Richard III.

bad humour for writing, believe will quit after informing you I have not inquired any thing about the Forage, nor the Sword, nor the Receipt, & now it is full time for me to be at the office, which engages me so much I have not a moment to myself, but perhaps the Next will be longer—in the meantime you write which will

oblige your affectionate
Brother
Erkuries.

John Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Annapolis 5th Mar: 1784

Dr Brother

It is a question of no importance, who wrote last; I find I am obliged again to open the Correspondence; and from whatever Cause, your silence may have arisen; I now demand, you to stand forth & declare it, that I may at least have the oportunity of Exorcising the Evil Spirit, or Demon of Sluggishness that seems to pervade you—I was sorry I had not the pleasure of seeing you in Philad^{a}. you had left it but two or three days before I passed thro it, on my way to this place—In a letter from Archy of the 25th ult^{o}. I find you are well & that you had lately paid a visit to Sister Green, who was also well; but he makes no mention of your having seen Mrs. B. Sure this was not kind, when you were at the distance only of 12 Miles—I hope if your Business will admit, you will call on her soon.

Writing from this place & in the Character I sustain; you will no doubt expect a political Correspondence f^{m}. me—Information of what is taken place at foreign Courts—the Connections & alliances, forming between the diff^{t}. European powers—the Intrigue & Chicanry of British Ministers, counteracted by the refined policy of the Court of Versailes, the principles of the Armed Neutrality by which the Ballance of power is to be pursued—State of the Negotiations between their High

Mightinesses the States of Holland & their High Mightiness the Congress of the U. S.—State of our National Debt & the Schemes of Finance, proposed for discharging of it—Cession of the Western Territory & the plans devised for disposing & settling that valuable & Extended Empire—Arrangement of our Foreign affairs—what Ministers are to be sent abroad & who are to be called home—State of Commerce & the several Treatys to be Entered into to cherish & protect it—& in short a succinct Narative of what has been done, is doing & is about to be transacted in Congress—a very pretty piece of Buisness to be sure—But as I cannot enter upon all these points at once I must beg you will inform me, where I am to begin; & how Minute a detail will be agreeable to you—& perhaps some future letter may gratify your wishes—

Our Situation here is tolerably agreeable, will be much more so, when the severity of the Season abates & we can take more exercise on Foot or Horseback—The Inhabitants are polite & Hospitable—Balls, routs, assemblys, Tournaments, Concerts, plays, Fandango's, & every species of Amusements prevail here—& I know not whether thro the all powerfull influence of Fashion, we Congressional republicans or plebians, may not shortly assume the Dress & Manners of the Patricians or Nobles—of Annapolis—at present there are nine States on the floor of Congress & as chief of the Business pending before them, require by the Confederation the assent of Nine, to give efficacy to a Measure, things succeed slowly—we are however daily in Expectation of N. York & Delaware—& Maryland. when we shall make a more rapid progress—I am to beg I may hear from you soon, thro the channel of Archy—& that you will present my affectionate regards to my Numerous Friends at Neshaminy—

Yours with much Esteem

J. Beatty.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Philad^{a} 12 March 1784.

D^{r} Reading,

A large Packet indeed have I collected within this five Days—I believe people think I have nothing else to do, but run about on Market mornings, looking for conveyances and forsooth, some is so particular, & assumes the liberty of telling me it must be sent immediately—tell your innumerable correspondences, none of their insolence or all goes in the fire—I will send any letters or packets that may come into my hands for you (if they are not to unconcievable large) when I write myself & have an opportunity, but I think if your extensive correspondence continues you had better establish a Post office here & keep a rider continually going, with a handsome Salary perhaps I will undertake the charge of your Office here, as people seem to be well acquainted with me, and at present supplys me with a good deal of business that way, attending with a good deal of trouble and not any profit—Now it is ten chances to one after ransacking all the Market and four or five taverns, tomorrow morning, that I find an opportunity to send this bundle to you & if I dont, after being obliged to rise very early in the morning & trapesing thro' the very Dirty Streets, it will be a rare chance if they escape the flames, however never mind it, any thing that is pleasurable to you, ought & I hope ever will be perfectly agreeable to me—I want very much to hear your answer to my letter I sent by M^{r} Jn^{o} Kan last Saturday, and how you like the Stuff for the Breeches—Stock Materials I have purchased none nor no money which is still worse—What do you think Parnell charged forty shillings for engraving your Seal which I made out to pay, but it is now in the hands of M^{r} Silversmith Holinshead to clean & make somewhat better, when its done shall send it to you.—1 of April I get three Mo. Salary, the 10 my In-

terest on my depreciation & expect something from the QM[r] for forage wood & Christy I hope will have all the Notes changed by that time, so if I can by any way collect all these sums into one of my Breeches Pockets I shall again be set afoot—but what a Letter of Nonsense I am writing—I have nothing else to say, except I tell you that Lancaster County is to be divided and an Elegant town to be built at Harris's ferry, which J. Harris has talked and made more noise about than any other ten men, I think, could possibly have done—the Land Office affair stands just as it did when I wrote you before—Miles's[54] affair is not entirely cleared up, but all seems to be in his favor—Great debates in the house of Assembly about incorporating the New Bank, all the Proprietors in the old Bank strenuously opposing it, and to wind up the whole of the news, the transparent paintings is finished, only waiting for the order of Council to have them exhibited—do pray come down & see them—they are much more elegant than before I am informed, & I shall endeavour to give you Notice when to come—pray let one thing more come in & I will conclude—that is that Congress has appointed Gen[l] Greene, Gen[l] Clark, Gen[l] R. Butler, M[r] Wolcott & M[r] Higginson Commissions to treat for a peace with the Indians & perhaps a very large tract of land from them big enough to Compose four or five States—That is all I have to say at present but remain

Your Loving Brother
Erkuries.

John Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Annapolis 2[d] April 1784.

Dear Brother

The prologomenon of your letter I shall pass over: only reminding you; that I have long since been stiled

[54] Samuel Miles was an auditor for settling public accounts and Deputy Quartermaster of Penna. He relinquished the latter office in 1782.

Hon.ble & feel no new importance, on my new appointment, or at the great deference & *"respect"* with which you would seem to "approach" me, & I must beg you will prorogue any further flummery on this Head, but address me as standing on the same ground with other fellow *"Mortals."*

You speak the language of nature in asking the Question, relative to the State of our Funds, & it does not require the Spirit of Divination, to propound your "interestedness" in a discussion of this Subject. But I fear the "reality" of our Debt when contrasted with the "Reality" of our Means of payment, will not admit of a very favourable Prognosis; and that the *"Contents"* of our Treasury, will strike you much in the light of my former letter; being only a *"Preface"* & containing no *"Substance"*—

Those who know least of the powers of Congress, are generally the most sanguine on this Head. We have neither the power of *Resolving* money into existance; nor diving in to and drawing it forth, from the coffers of those who possess it—Like the *Indian Sachems,* indeed, we can consult, devise, & call for requisitions; but it rests with the Executrices of the states alone, to give Efficacy to the Measures recommended—our most ostensible resource is that of an Impost upon foreign Importations—This would constitute no inconsiderable Revenue & tend greatly to alleviate Taxation in the ordinary way—Being founded on the most perfect Equality; a Tax, wholly voluntary & insensible; I cannot but be astonished at the opposition it meets with in the several states—only seven, of the thirteen Legislatures, have yet acceeded to the proposition; & were I to hazard a Conjecture, it would be that two or More, never will comply—Cut off from this Hope, I know not where we shall land—the Burthens of a people must be measured by their abilities to sustain the pressure: and when Taxes once become odious; I believe we shall

find too little Energy in our republican Government, to Enforce a Collection of them—The Sale of our Western Lands may with good Management be made to lessen our public (domestic) debt considerably: but we cannot avail ourselves even of this resource for a twelvemonth; or at least before we shall have settled a peace with the Indians, purchased their right of Soil & fixed Boundaries between them & us—Commissioners for this purpose have been appointed & will we expect . . . . . perfect this Business in the Course of the Ensuing Summer & Fall—Congress has Estimated that 4½ Millions of Dollars will be wanted for the Current Expences of the Year 84 & for the Arrears of Interest due on Foreign & Domestic Loans, up to the 31st Decr. 84—a Requisition for this Sum will shortly go out; & I leave you to say, how far or how punctually it will be complied with—I confess I have my Fears; but I am persuaded the States must be Stimulated to make the most Vigorous Exertions, or our National Credit, must be anihilated—You will say, this is a dull picture & throws a dark shade over your pay & Commuatation—it is true, but indeed I cannot flatter you, without doing violence to my own Sentiments:—how far my *Prognosis* may be verified, time must determine but I assure you the *Diagnosis* is not unjustly drawn—an I should rather think Industry in the line of your Profession, will be the surest support. I enclose you a Schedule of the Expences which form the requisition, as estimated by Congress. . . . . All Europe seems to have become *Balloon Mad* Even Dr Franklins Servant, has taken an aerial flight & not yet returned to Narrate his discoverys—If Monsieur Montgolfier could be so fortunate as to fall on a Method of giving them a Horizontal as well as Vertical Motion, I should have no objection to the Construction of a Congressional one, for the purpose of removing Congress, as you propose: but in the present improved state of these Machines, I fancy you

will find few to venture; least we should Explore a Region, where our Independance is not known or acknowledged—As I have already exceeded the limits of a fashionable or polite letter I shall here drop the Curtain & leave the other parts of your letter to some future oportunity.

I pray you will be as good as your word in calling to see M^rs^ B. whose widowed State requires more attention. Present my affectionate regards to M^r^ W^m^ Scott & family & all my other Friends

Yours with much regard

Jn^o^ Beatty.

P. S. You may read this Letter to Mr Scott & I sh^d^. be happy to hear from him—I inclose you a late Baltimore paper—

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Philad^a^. 14 Ap^r^ 1784.

D^r^ Reading,

I was up very early this morning and recieved your Letters and Notes & all Safe—am now sorry you troubled yourself in sending your Cincinnati Book as I found my own throwing about the Barracks this morning—But that is not the worst—My deprivation note is Burnt—Last Sunday I brought it down Stairs, laid on the top of the Stove while I ran to one of the windows to see a pretty Girl M^rs^ Stamper was remarking—I behold. When I returned to the Stove in about half minute, I had the mortification to see the Ashes of it in the middle of the fire—I can't get another till the Assembly meets—nor Interest nor any thing, so you see I am in a pretty Box—There is not, nor has not been since the 10^th^ Ap^r^. one Copper of money in the treasury, so you had better look out to the Excise Officer in Bucks to get yours changed, and if he has plenty of money engage some of it for me, as I have B^r^ J^n^'s

interest & several others—inform me of this matter to be sure on Saturday morning that I may send 'em out to you that day if necessary—The Spring Launcet is not quite finished, nor I have not time to get the Jean, perhaps by Saturday, if I dont come out myself I will send these things I write you more fully—at present I remain

Yours in a hurry but very
affectionately
Erkuries

I sent you a letter from B^r^ Jn^o^. on Saturday I hope you rec^d^ it.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Philad^a^. May 1, 1784.

D^r^ Reading

I arrived here in very good time on Monday evening, without hurry, & all safe—found that our Landlady had got a Courtier which stuck to her pretty faithfully for two Evenings, I believe then made his escape—what success he met with I can't say, but Walker & myself has laughed enough about it—Matters on Saturday last went nearly as I wished & Expected—there was between thirty & forty off^rs^., met at the City Tavern, & unanimously appointed Major Bowen & myself agents for the whole Line—but we thinking as there were not a majority of the Officers there of the Line we had better get our appointment Ratified by Council, for that purpose Maj^r^ Bowen took a Copy of the proceedings of the Meeting signed by Col. Johnston,[85] Chairman, & on Tuesday, *we* along with Col. Johnston and M^r^ Pierce, waited on the Governor & Council was permitted an Audience, & had the matter fully decided, they two latter urging the propriety & Conveniency of having only two Agents for the Line, & their approving the Off^rs^. choice, they would not do it but wrote imme-

[85] Francis Johnston, Colonel 5th Penna. Line; retired Jany. 17, 1781.

diately to Congress on the subject & desired M^r^ Pierce to do the same, which has all been done, & myself wrote to B^r^ John on the subject, & we hope to have it all done in regular order—I dont think I have anything more to tell you,—will send you the Almanac next Week —we have a large addition to our family within this day or two—Maj^r^ Benson of N. C.—Maj^r^ Lloyd of Hazens Reg^t^—Capt^s^ Henderson & Wilkey, with the two old hands, at present compose M^rs^ Stampers family—A pretty Jolly set of old Continental Officers say you— I saw Crosby a few days ago, he was sorry he had not gone out with me to see you—how do you come on with Old Wynkoop & the money.—I expect Mr. Erwin in town next week, perhaps you can find the balance by him as I wish to send it to them it belongs—

I am with esteem & affection
Your brother
Erkuries.

Erkuries Beatty—probably to Reading Beatty.

Philad^a^. 5 May 1784

I received you^r^ short scrawl my brother, on Saturday last, but wrote to you in the morning & sent it off before I got yours, however it is not much odds— Gen^l^. Washington came to town on Saturday morning without any fuss or parade, indeed the town seems to be alive with old Officers from one end of the Continent to the other, The Society made a meeting on Monday, but did no business, yesterday they met, did a little business I believe & afterwards dined together— all this at the City tavern—chief of the States is represented, or *Lines* I must say, either less or more—none has yet came from N. Carol: or Rhode Island, but have wrote that they will be here in a day or two, which is all that is deficient, & every one seems to be in the spirit of it—Major L'Enfant has arrived, & brought

medals for all those who subscribed, & 200 more for sale at 26 dollars a pin—I have seen some of them, but for my part I do not admire them, being too contracted and Confused, and one of the words wrong spelled. Some people say they are very handsome, & some think as I do, & so on—so much for the Society of the Cincinnati all the rest I believe, I will save untill you come to town, which I certainly expect will be on the 20ᵗ Our family increased last Evening by a Miss Shoemaker from Reding, but have not yet the pleasure of seeing her pretty face

Adieu
yours
E. Beatty.

John Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Annapolis 17ᵗʰ 1784

My Dʳ Brother

I did not flatter you before, when I stated the National Debt, & the Exertions, that would be necessary, to pay even the Annual Interest—a conviction of the Inability, as well as disinclination of the States to pay, their Quota's of a Sum, that would Comprehend the whole contained in that Estimate, & knowing that requisitions not complied with, wᵈ not only hold up our National poverty in very strong Colours, but wᵈ argue also the want of Energy in our Executive Departments; were reasons of such weight with Congress, that they have determined to call only for two thirds of the Sum they had first in Contemplation—I inclose you their Act, as amended & agreed to finally—an attentive perusal of this Statement & the Demand in consequence of it, will give you a more adequate Idea of the State of our Finances than is practicable for me to do in the short compass of a letter—I wᵈ only observe that the Interest for the year 84 is not included in this Estimate, & the Sum called for provided it is punctually paid;

will Embrace but little of the interest that became due in the Course of the last year—because a preference is to be given in payment according to the order in which they are arranged in that Statement—It may be a Question with some, why the whole of the Interest accruing on the Foreign Debt is to be discharged, when so partial a payment is made to our Domestic Creditors. To this it is answered, that in order to establish our Credit at home, it is necessary we should scrupulously observe our contracts abroad—that our pleas of inability, (not to say disinclination to pay Taxes); will be considered by them, rather as proceeding from a dishonest principle; than any real want, that exists in these states, of the Means whereby to furnish the Treasury, with a sum equal to the demands, that they have against it—But our argument which has more weight in my Mind is this—that those states who have the inclination may & will no doubt make more vigorous Exertions in favr of their own citizens & since Specie will not be wanted, facilities may be made use of, which at the same time that it renders complete satisfaction to the Creditor of the public, will not impoverish the states; by sending large sums of Money abroad—N. Jersey has adopted this Idea and is now paying her Citisens a year interest in Bills or Certificates, which are redeemable every year in Specie within the States—This places the Burthen on those who ought to bear it; I mean those who have neither loaned their Monies, nor rendered personal services to the public—But I have one more word to say on this Subject & I have done—As I glanced my Eye over your letter I find this sentence "I wish the states may be able to pay the Interest on *My* Arrearages & Commutation" (amounting to some thing more than £200) "Now when I compare this with the former part of your letter, where you speak of the want of Sufficient Authority in Congress"—"The Sacredness of public Engagements"—"the Necessity

of private Interest being subservient to public good," "the retrograde Motion of public Spirit" & "the great Danger our Celebrated Republic is in," I am at a loss to account, how so narrow and contracted an Idea, could have crept into your Mind—while declaiming with more than Roman patriotism, on the "Amazing declension of public Virtue," a spirit of Interestedness appears & you cherish a Sentiment which but the Moment before you had rejected as ignoble and derogatory of the Principles on which a free republic sh^{d} be founded—You could have adduced no stronger proof—of the Justness of the remarks your letter contains—Forgive this Freedom—I mean only to banter you—it is no More than what we are all actuated with; altho it meets our greatest disapprobation—'tis grafted in our Natures, nor can we divest ourselves of it—There is no proposition more true, than that Interest binds Nations as well as Individuals. 'tis the Secret Spring & Motive of all our Actions.

I am glad you have been so kind as to visit Mrs. B.—I hope to see her by the tenth of next Month; when we shall be made particularly happy in your Company, for a length of Days, should you be able to spare as much time from your Business—

My Comp^{s} to M^{r} Scott—His reply was not unexpected; as he has before given me hints as to the rotundity of my Hand writing—avoid Neshaminy Politics—Detraction often reverberates with two fold force, to the fountain from whence it spread & is always a Mark of a weak & little Mind—Congress have not recinded the resolution, of building two Federal Towns—it is however so absurd and anti-republican a proposition, that I am confident it never will be carried into Effect—I cannot advise you, on the Subject of the Gratuity Lands in Virginia. Perhaps it w^{d} be prudent as the Good Book recommends, to Count up the Cost, before you proceed to the Structure of the Building—The Idea

of trying it by a Foederal Court is altogether New, nor am I able to say how far the Consideration will warrant a proceedure of this Nature—

You will as usual, inclose your letters to Archy—who will forward them to me, whether here or at Princeton —I must beg your pardon for this long letter but hope that in future you will claim no Ballance, in the Epistolary Line, against me—My Comp[s] to all enquiring Friends

Yours with much regard
Jn° Beatty.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Philad[a]. 18 May 1784.

D[r] Reading

Not a word have I heard from you since you left the City, & what is worse than that we have lost our friend Mark Halfpenny at the Cross Keys,[56] & it seems I can neither get, or send a Letter from there now, I had wrote the inclosed for M[r] Erwin last Saturday, left at the Cross Keys where Mr. Erwin now commands, & there I found it today, & God knows whether I shall get it up tomorrow or not however I will try—the General Society of the Cincinnati broke up this day, to meet again in three years, if I can raise six pence tomorrow morning, I will send you the pamphlet which has the circular letter in it & the Institution as altered by them,—I think it will be very displeasing to many of the members, & if it dont now please the bawling populace, I hope & pray they never may be pleased in any one thing they may ever undertake.

Inclos'd is a Letter which I found the other day at the Bunch of Grapes[57] in a Corner directed to me—the time it has been there I can't be accountable for, but

[56] The Cross Keys Tavern, Water between Market and Arch Streets.
[57] The Bunch of Grapes Tavern, on Third below Arch Street.

suppose from its appearance that it was no short time—I believe I have nothing particular to tell you. Bowens Army affair remains as it was when you was here, having not made any application to Council since the Resolve of Congress came—Walker talks of leaving us soon, but believe he does not know where he will go to yet, which makes me think that his stay must be longer than he or his friends wishes—How does the money come on? I have got orders from all the people for it, Hemp on them for their impudence, they wish immediate payment—My Landlady is up stairs in private *Confab* with her Swain—but Hush—or I will not be your affectionate

Brother
Erkuries.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Philad[a] 25 May 1784

As you do not address me in Common, neither will I you, but just begin to tell you that I received your letter by Cap[t] Armstrong, which surprised me to hear that you had not received a letter from me last week, which I wrote, delivered to M[r] Whitebread,[58] who said he sent it out by one of the Ramsays, hope before this you have got it, for it contained several inclosed particularly one for M[rs] Treat, which I would not wish to miscarry—There is such a terrible noise and uproar in our house, has so confused my ideas, that altho' I have a great deal to say to you, I dont know where to begin, for you must know that M[rs] Stamper is very soon to be married to Cap[t] Wallace, who you know is remarkable for breaking his parole when prisoner, & there is a terrible *fuss* in the house with Mantua-makers, semstresses, &c & has given her family warning to move as soon as possible, which I shall do on Monday

[58] Probably William Whitebread, who in 1785 was an innkeeper, Second between Market and Arch Streets.

next, to a house in Spruce Street which Major Bowen & me have engaged—You must know that she has made a great Confidant of me—A few evenings ago when I was going to bed with Cap^{t} Walker, she asked permission to speak with me, I readily complied, & we had a very long *confab*—the introduction of it was the very great esteem she held me in, rather considered me as a Brother than any thing else & wished me to give her my serious & Candid advice on a Matter of much importance to her, after promising & passing many Compliments in return, she divulged the whole matter to me, saying, in short that she was courted by M^{r} Wallace, & did not know what answer to give him, I soon finding from her discourse that she had fixed her mind in his favor previous to her asking my advice, I neither advised her pro, or Con but generally gave her evasive answers, for I dont like the man, however in less than two days after she told *us* the matter was fixed, & they are to be married in 3 or 4 weeks & as I am her Confident, am to be at the wedding but dont say a Word about it,—so much for family news, as you wish to know it, & if I was to record all the scandal, that is practised by Mrs Morris, M^{rs} Stamper & Miss P. Shoemaker at our table & otherwise God knows it would take you a month to read it, & you know I dont keep Company with any young Ladies of this City to hear their smart repartees or their magnanimous conquests—Now I wish to tell you, between you & me, that Bowen & myself intends entering deeply into speculation in these Certificates, & think if we are any ways Lucky we shall make money—it would be too tedious to tell you our whole plans, but I expect to see you before I begin, at the same time if you have any Capital objections why I should not do as the rest of the world generally does, to make money by any means, will thank you to inform me, for perhaps I am going into an error, I am sure, if so, it is undesignedly—Upon my word I never thought

a word about your hat, but depend upon I shall immediately look for an opportunity of sending it up, perhaps tomorrow or Saturday, this I expect Cap^{t} Armstrong will take if I am up early enough in the morning to get it to him, now it is past 11 oClock, every person in bed but myself in the house—

I wrote last night to I was tired, am up very early this morning, & intend now making a Conclusion, after telling you as usual that I am not rich enough to buy you a pamphlet with the Society of the Cincinnati in it, or rather the Institution & Circular Letter, but as the whole of it is in the *Independent Chronicle* which was published on Saturday last perhaps you may get a sight of it, this I hope will urge you to send me down, the balance which you say you have procured, as I had to advance my own money to the persons that belonged to, likewise if you please send me a order of Hodsson for your forage money, I having waited on him yesterday, & he says he expects money in a few days—I inclose a letter to you from B^{r} John which I have read (begging your pardon) & another from some person else, Adieu for the present

Yours affectionately
Erkuries.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Philadelphia Sept^{r} 4th, 84.

D^{r} Reading

Yesterday we received an order from the Executive Council which we have thought was rather a degree of arrogance & unconstitutional therefore immediately shut up our Office,[59] returned them an answer declaring ourselves "Free Citizens of Penn^{a}. & not public Officers, and was ready to comply with the Resolution of Congress of Nov 3^{d} 1783 to deposit them as they should

[59] Erkuries at this date was acting as a clerk in the War Office, engaged in settling the accounts of the Penna. Line.

direct, and prayed that some of *their Officers* might be app^{d}. to receive the remaining Certificates from us, as we was determined to proceed no farther in the business" how this matter may turn out I can't determine positively but at present we think we are doing very right, am only sorry that it will keep the officers & soldiers who has not yet sec^{d}. theirs, a long time before they do—

I have had Bennet preying on Col. Proctor[80] every day since you left me for the money on Your Note, but the Devil a farthing of it I have yet got. Still promises fair, and if I find an opportunity that I can trust this morning I will send you Forty five dollars, then there will yet remain due to you thirteen dollars & 11/50 which you must have a little patience for the rest, for I shall be intirely bare myself—Was out at Camp last evening for the first time, & now intend to pay particular attention to that business—If you don't move before next Market day, I hope I will be able to send you the whole, if you do, God knows how I will ever get it to you—

Your affectionate Brother
Erkuries.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Fort Mac Intosh 24th Jan^{r} 1785.

Very well my dear Reading, you have treated me kindly indeed, sent me your cold Compliment thro' D^{r} Delany and Cap^{t} Douglass, and such a good opportunity to write,—I can forgive but perhaps I may never forget, & you will find in the long run you will gain nothing by it, for my budget it is now as full of Indian treaty &c as ever your head was full of love &c, & I intended to give you a full detail, but I can't find in my heart to do it. Know, therefore I will only give you a

[80] Col. Thomas Proctor, 4th Continental Artillery, resigned 18 April 1781.

few of the out Lines of what I know & have seen, and you may remain in Suspence for the rest till you see it published or see me—The treaty commenced on the 9th & continued from day to day till the 21st when the Articles was signed & the treaty concluded yesterday they recieved their Goods & today the Chiefs are shining about with their Gold lace hats & Jackets which about as much becomes them, as a Jewel Does a hoges nose. I wish I could picture to you an old *Ottawa* Chief sitting close by me, half double, with a Coat Jacket & hat covered over with Gold Lace & a Breech Clout & leggins on, & about a dozen of his Nation attending on him with the *Princess of Chippeway* & we like fools giving them rum & so it has been all the treaty, our house continually full of these devils till we are heartily sick of them, but God be thanked we will now soon get rid of them—now to return to the subject—There was represented at the treaty the Wyandotts with their Half King at their head—this nation is the oldest & calls themselves the Grandfathers of all the rest in this Country & commands them all—the next is the Delwares, being a great number of them here & their Chief is the Great Pipe with many other Councillors. This Pipe is a sulky dog, and after he heard the proposals of the Commisr was clear for declaring war but his Nation made him sign the Articles—the *Ottawas* and *Chippewas* is the other two nations that was represented here 7 the whole, their nations is very large at home but few of them here, & chiefly lives over the Lakes, and they are entirely depending on the other two first mentioned therefore said very little—They Spoke a great deal of Nonsense & our Commissr spoke very pointed, which brought them to the Conclusion, that we were sole proprietors of the Country, & they obliged to come upon such terms as we pleased, which was that they should leave Hostages with the troops till they delivered up all the prisoners in their possession, then was allotted their

Country to hunt & live upon, which is very large on Lake Erie reserving Detroit and other trading posts for ourselves, they never made any objections to any thing we said, for I believe they were very much frighted and are generally poor pusilanimous beings, after the treaty was signed they buryed the Hatchet by saying, "they took it, & pulled up a great oak, buried it underneath, & planted the Oak on the top, then pulled it up again, took the Hatchet and threw it into a running Stream of water that they nor their Children nor us or our Children should ever know that such a thing happened"—Now I have told you some things that has happened, and as I kept a Journal of the whole and got all their Speeches and the Articles they signed I will shew them to you when I see you, & when that will be I will tell you—It is now settled by Colo. Harmar that I must go to Philad^{a} in the Spring, and without any manner of doubt will be there in April, so if you can with any propriety put off that great and important matter till them, that you told me off, it will add much to my happiness—our situation perhaps may invite your attention, & well it might, for it most delightfull, situated on the banks of the Ohio, upon a most elegant flat, the fort is regular, & built with Squared logs laid on one another the side next the river is equal to any two sides, and the front which is towards the land is half as long as the side upon the river, with four regular Bastions—there is a Sally poet next river and a large Gate opposite, Barracks round the whole and one part of the Barracks formed by the wall of the fort, so I suppose you will be able to lay down a plan of it—I have received two letters from M^{c}Michael in them he informs me that he would wish part of his Certificate disposed off, if Maj^{r} Bush or Bowen should call upon you for them please to let 'em have them—I intend writing to them on the Subject—now all I have to say, is; that if

you can, with any propriety put off that matramonial matter till April, it will be a very great pleasure to your

Very affectionate Brother

Erkuries.

Conjugate this by the time I see you

Wihoughquenoxee, nemat—Kalastoi nemat—

Cohon—Mataku

Deleware

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Philad[a] Novemb[r] 29. 1785.

My dear Brother,

At length the fatal mandate is published which at once deprives me of the numerous pleasures I expected to have enjoyed this winter, particularly in seeing you, enter the Hymenial band, blessed with a happy companion for life, and me in a very agreeable Sister, for such I think she will be to us both, & all the family, beg that you will not put it off longer than you can possibly avoid, that is if every thing appears as favorable as at present, I flatter myself that some time next summer I shall embrace you both in perfect matrimonial happiness.

This day Colonel Harmar informed me that there was an immediate necessity for my going to the Westard, and fixed upon next friday for my setting out. M[r] Pratt[a] & another Gent. belonging to the troops being in town & going about that time, shall embrace the opportunity of their Company, so *Adieu,* for God knows when I shall see you again, if the River is passable when I get to Pittsburgh down I go to the Miami, if otherwise early in the Spring.

I have sat down to write to you, & never was in a worse humour for it in all my life, what I have wrote

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[a] John Pratt, Lieut. U. S. Infantry, July 1785, Captain March 1791, assigned to 1st Sub Legion Sept. 1792, resigned Dec. 5, 1793.

is scandalous, and what more I dont know—Yes, now I think to tell you, that I saw M^rs^. Beatty safe home on the Evening of the day I left you, found B^r^ J. well, staid with him a Thursday & returned here with Fridays Stage—Saw Miss S. S. a few minutes, recieved her letter as is herein inclosed, which is all I know worth relating of my trip to Princeton—Now I wish I could put you in a way of writing to me, for how we will correspond God only knows, Your best way I imagine will be to leave your Letters at the Conestoga Waggon, or if you come to town yourself deliver them in care to Col. Harmar, few indeed do I expect to receive, however they will be more valuable when they come, be assured I will embrace opportunitys in writing to you—Now I am done—what more can I tell you—I wish I knew what you wanted to hear—My head is as empty as a calabash—perhaps I may take it in my head to write you again before I leave town—head—head—head—I say this head of mine is not worth a pinch of snuff to night, & never will I take up my pen to write to you again, untill I get it under better regulation So God bless you, I will trouble you no further only wish you every happiness this world can bestow upon us frail mortals—

And am your very affectionate
Erkuries.

I will carry this down to M^r^. Raguets[82] tomorrow morn

[82] James Raguets married Ann, daughter of Judge Henry Wynkoop. He was a French exile.

[83] Erkuries Beatty left some account of his travels during the years 1786–7. He says, "*July 26th 1786.* Stopped opposite the mouth of Little Beaver to see Capt. Hutchins and the Surveyors who are here encamped, intending soon to cross the river, and begin the Survey of the Continental Land. Six or eight miles below McIntosh, met two boats with the baggage of three companies, who left McIntosh this morning for to encamp at Mingo Bottom." "*August 2d*—stopped opposite the mouth of Little Beaver, and breakfasted with the Surveyors who are waiting for the troops. Arrived Mingo Bottom, 3 o'clock, where was Capt. Hamtramck's, McCurdy's and Mercer's companies encamped and

Erkuries Beatty to John Beatty.

Pittsburgh Dec^{r} 22^{d} 1785.

D^{r} Brother

I arrived here the day before yesterday after a very tedious & painfull journey, owing to the very badness of the roads. . . . I intend visiting the *Brilliant* Assembly of this place this evening as it will be opened this Night for the first time this Season—I am very unhappy to hear, that our Indian affairs here wear a very unpleasing aspect—I spoke with a person yesterday, (of a good deal of probity) who is just come in from a number of the Indian towns whom the Commissioners

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has just been mustered and inspected by Major North. The troops encamped on the bank of the river, opposite the lower end of a small island. *3d*—orders were issued for two companies to march to-morrow morning, and join the Surveyors. *September 22d*—stopped at a small block house, on the Indian shore, which Major Hamtramck had built, for the security of his provisions, while he was out protecting the Continental Surveyors." *February 16, 1787*—arrived at Fort Steuben. This is a Fort built since I was on the river, by Major Hamtramck, above Mingo Bottom, on the Indian shore, about 47 miles below McIntosh, and 23 above Wheeling. It is about 120 yards from the river, on a very excellent high bank, and on commanding ground. A square with a large Block House on each corner, and pickets between each Block House from the Fort, in this manner (there is a plan of it, regularly and neatly drawn out.) The Big Gate fronting the main on the West, and the Sally Port the river; with the Guard House over the latter. The Block Houses serve for all the men, and the officers' two houses are on each side of the Big Gate, the back part serving as a row of pickets. It is garrisoned by Hamtramck's and Mercer's companies, the former commanding. *March 3d*—from Wheeling to Fort Steuben, where Major Hamtramck, who was ordered to muster the troops up to January 1st 1787, agreed to accompany us to Fort Pitt. *March 28th*—early in the morning left Pittsburgh, stopped two hours at McIntosh, and arrived at Fort Steuben in the evening; stayed all night, and set off early in the morning. *May 19th*—arrived at Fort Steuben about 8 o'clock, with Major Hamtramck, on my way to New York. The people about Wheeling and here all much alarmed about Indians. *26th*—left Fort Steuben early in the morning, with Captain Mercer and Mr. Schuyler in a boat. Major Hamtramck has got orders from Col. Harmar, to evacuate his garrison immediately, and take his troops to Fort Harmar." (*Beatty Family Record*, pp. 84–5.)

intending treating with this fall at Miami, & he says, that they generally absolutely refuse attending, & have sent their reasons in kind of parables, which is very easily explain'd and it seems to be the general opinion of the most sensible men of this place, that the present treaty will by no means have the desired effect, yet strange it is that we here have not received One word of official intelligence, neither from the Commissioners or troops since their being at the Mouth of Miami, but general reports say they are all safe, and but few Indians, chiefly those who were treated with before—We have six full Companies of men this winter on the Ohio that is, three at Fort McIntosh, two at the Mouth of Muskingham and one at Miami with the Commissioners, all of which I imagine would easily fall a sacrifice if the Savages were so disposed, however a soldier has no right to think, therefore I leave that to men in power & hope their penetrating genius's, will not suffer a handful of men to be sacrificed to their folly—Please make my kindest respects to M^rs^. Beatty, & Sister Green when you have the pleasure of seeing her.

I am with the greatest sincerity your aff^e^ Br.

E. Beatty.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Philad^a^. Dec^r^. 12, 1786.

D^r^. Reading,

I received yours 3^d^ Ins^t^.—thank you kindly for your good intentions—better than mine the County treasurer is like all the rest of the world—put me off with vague answers, & just so has Gen^l^. Knox & the Board of Treasury, which makes me wish the Devil had them all, & sincerely curse the day that ever induced me again to enter in such a rascally service, when cringing Sycophants in the midst of plenty, kick the poor worn out

soldier out of door, because he does not debase his feelings with the most rascally servility to upstarts of a day—But my dear Brother it is not worth while to trouble you with my own disagreeable feelings—you are possessed of too much sensibility, & far be it from my thoughts to make you unhappy, & as for myself could be happy with the pattern of your good Lady in a place no larger than a Racoon Box living on the toil of my own hands, so that she was happy, & myself independent of such an ungenerous country—No more —Your Land looks well on paper, & mine dont look bad, if we had any dependance on the rascallity of the World. however lay them by—It may be a last resource to me, when I can do no better, & rather than be dependent, would commit a much more injurious Act— I have an order on M^{r}. Wynkoop for 400 Dollars, I have wrote him on the subject—tomorrow I must set out for Reading & Lancaster again & expect in about ten days to sett off for the Westward, under almost every disagreeable circumstance. One thing I pray that you will take the earliest opportunity of sending the inclosed Letter to Mr. Arndt for he among the rest has treated me most scurvily—I passed a receipt to him for the whole Amount of my order, & took his Note payable on demand for a balance of upwards of £100/ which he sincerely promised to send me in six days afterwards, & never got one copper of it yet—I returned last Monday from Princeton, after spending four days with B^{r}. John very agreeably, I wish I could spend the same time with you, but my unfortunate stars has ordained it otherwise, & I don't think you will see me again in a good while—

God bless you, & all about you, is the sincere prayer of

Your affectionate Brother
Erkuries.

Erkuries Beatty to Reading Beatty.

Carlisle July 22d 1792

Dear Reading,

I am just setting off for Church therefore have only time to tell you that I am well. . . . since I came home I have employed chief of my time in gallanting the Ladies, as I find them very agreeable, should be very glad you was here, to partake of part of my happiness, but am afraid circumstances will not yet admit of it as I hear Turnbull is yet very unwell—I send this by Mr. John Smith an inhabitant of this place in the Quarter Mr Department an exceeding clever young fellow worthy any persons acquaintance—No News, Jack Hughes, Tom Campbell, & Jack Pratt has their compliments to you, and please to present mine to any person who think while to inquire for me, I am your very

affectionate Brother

Erkuries.

Pray write as soon as possible.

Erkuries Beatty to John Beatty.

Roadstown[44] Dec. 29. 1794.

Dear Brother,

I waited with considerable impatience almost all last Saturday morning at Bridgetown for the arrival of the post, had to go home at last without getting your Letter which was brought to me in the evening by a private Gentleman, indeed if old Timothy knew how the mail is conducted in this Country, I guess he would kick up a rumpus, for sometimes, it is lost & picked up by Waggoners, which I do not wonder at for it is but a few days ago that the man passed here carrying the mail, was so drunk he could scarcely sit on his horse—By post, is in so much disrepute here, that the people in

[44] Roadstown is about two miles southwest of Shiloh, N. J.

general entrusts their Letters &c, by the Stage,—I have not as yet been obliged to raise the seige intirely, but I have been obliged to sustain several powerfull sallies, which renders my operations very tardy indeed—I have by no means been idle the last week—have made several retrograde manouvers close in the vicinity of the garrison, by amusing myself with a little out work, which will perhaps cause some little jealousy within (as there is by no means a good understanding between the two powers) & perhaps expedite a surrender, or at once oblige me to raise the seige entirely, & there is a good deal of plunder in the out work, it may perhaps fall on easier prey—at present the main work is rather in a state of Blockade, & this week I believe will proceed on your advice to sapping & mining—I am very happy to hear from Princeton, that all is well but am really sorry to hear that D^{r}. L. has not brought his mind to a decison on so important a matter as Matrimony, for he promised me faithfully before I left Princeton, that he would certainly be about it this winter—Indeed I have not much hopes to give the Doctor from my own success, but pray tell him to keep in mind the Story of "an old Stag of a Batchelor"—also please tell him what has befell me since I am down here, which equally affects him, & has almost knocked me up—a Young Lady told me a few days ago when talking on *Love* that I had got too old to feel in any great degree that powerfull passion or create it in the breast of a *young Lady*—She did not doubt but I was worthy of a great deal of *esteem* & a Lady suitable to my *years* might possibly be persuaded to think so likewise—there's for you—cold esteem—Nothing but the thought of the Doctor's being as old as me would scarcely have reconciled me to myself—It was a wicked malicious Story, & what made it worse, I thought there was too much truth in it, so put it in my pocket as a loud call to us both, to be up and doing—I am much

obliged to you for your News and Newspapers, & pray continue to exercise your goodness in that way. & if you please find me Fenno's[66] papers as we get Bache's[66] here every week by the stage—But pray what has become of the 70 sail of West India Merchantmen carried into L'Orient by the French? and what has become of the Naval Action in the Chesapeake between some French & English Ships?—I have not heard a word about Election from any person since I wrote you last, altho' I have been at the houses of both Elmers[67] & W. F. is intire silent on the Subject—shall go to the Bridge tomorrow to see how they come on—Inclosed is a Letter for B[r] Reading which I will thank you to forward him also one for Billy—but I suppose he is out of town—pray give it him when he returns—they are all well here & send a great deal of Love to you, & we all keep constantly wishing for an expatriation of the rheumatism from your knee,

Your affectionate Brother,
E. Beatty.

Reading Beatty to John Beatty.

Dear Brother,

I had intended, previous to this, to give you a short Letter by way of begging the favour of your Correspondence during the ensuing Winter; but my good intentions have been frustrated for want of sufficient time, as well as from a doubt (if your Letters are not carried by Pork gratis) whether any Epistles by their

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[66] Fenno's paper was *The Gazette of the United States*, established by John Fenno in New York, 11 April, 1789, and removed to Philadelphia when it became the seat of the government. The first Philadelphia issue was dated 14 April, 1790.

[66] Bache's paper was *The Aurora and General Advertiser*, established as *The General Advertiser*, 1790, by Benjamin Franklin Bache. The title *Aurora* was adopted 8 November, 1794.

[67] Both Elmers were probably Jonathan, physician and jurist, and his brother Ebenezer, physician; prominent citizens of Cumberland County, N. J.

entertainment would compensate for the expence they would be to you. Will you let me know if I may indulge the pleasing expectation of hearing from you sometimes the politics of the day, or if I am to trust to the Newspapers for all the information I am to receive of the proceedings of Congress?—I need not assure you how highly I should be gratified by your writing to me—Will you let me know too if you heard from me by Gen[l]. Cummings, & if you have seen Mrs. Lombaert[68] since your going to the City?—

We had flattered ourselves with the pleasure of seeing you & sister at Fallsington[69] before your going to Congress, but we have been disappointed, from what cause we cannot say.—

Would you be able to write to me upon the terms above mentioned, I will direct M[r]. Clum, the Post Master at Bristol[70] to have my Letters taken out of the mail at Bristol, & sent forward to Morton's by the Rider, from whence I shall have frequent opportunities of receiving them.—

Chrissy[71] joins me in good wishes that you may enjoy health & happiness.—

Yours with much Affection
Reading Beatty.

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[68] Mrs. Herman Joseph Lombaert, daughter of Judge Henry Wynkoop.

[69] Fallsington, Bucks County, Pa., where Doctor Reading Beatty and his wife were living at this time.

[70] When the first post-office was established at Bristol, 1 June, 1790, Joseph Clum was appointed post-master.

[71] Christina, wife of Doctor Reading Beatty.

ISAAC SHARPLESS, 1848–1920.

It is fitting that we should record our great sense of loss in the recent death of Isaac Sharpless, LL.D., late President of Haverford College, who was in fact the founder of the Friends' Historical Society and its first President. To him more than to any other we owe the organization of this body, which was the outcome of the Centennial celebration at Friends' Meeting House at Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, in the summer of 1904.

On that remarkable occasion, before an audience of twenty-three hundred, Isaac Sharpless, in his own inimitable way, reviewed the social conditions among Philadelphia Friends a century before. When the souvenir book of the Centennial was published soon after, his Introduction, which was also the first official publication of this Society, contained the following striking paragraph: "It is well occasionally to look into the past, and gather up the standards and principles of our ancestors in the faith. It is well if it lead us to reconsecrate ourselves to the cause for which they wrought—the pure religion of Christ. We may not adopt all their methods; the testimonies which they upheld may in part be replaced by others more vital to our day. But those among us who see beneath the surface will feel no disposition to build on any other groundwork than theirs, nor to adopt modes of action essentially out of harmony with their principles. The lack of historic background, while compatible with much Christian goodness and zeal and openness of mind, seems, when applied to congregations, to lead to opportunism; the selection of methods dictated by the emergencies of the present, and to destroy that con-

tinuity of principle so essential to the preservation of the type. If the spirit and motives of the best Friends of the past were known and read by all of us who bear the name of Friend, they would be interwoven through our lives as through the pages of prophecy is interwoven, 'thus saith the Lord.' " With this most characteristic setting forth of the principles which he felt should guide the future acts of this Historical Society, we may pause for a moment's backward glance at the career of this Quaker historian.

Isaac Sharpless, son of Aaron and Susanna (Forsythe) Sharpless, was born December 16th, 1848. A ponderous quarto tome of over 1300 pages, published in 1887, preserves the record of the immigrant ancestor John Sharpless and the thousands of his substantial progeny in the community in which Isaac Sharpless was a birthright Friend. The farm of his father and grandfather Isaac Sharpless, where he was born, had been the homestead of the family for several generations. It lay at the foot of Osborne Hill among the gently undulating hills of Birmingham Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania. The impressionable years of boyhood were spent here, where his daily walks took him over the historic battlefield of the Brandywine, and where the semi-weekly worship of the family led a little southeasterly to Birmingham Friends' Meeting House (Orthodox)—the old Meeting House of the "Hicksite" body near by having served as the hospital on the battle ground.

He was a diligent reader of the choice collection of books in the old Birmingham Library, supported by members of that meeting and others. From this little library fiction was carefully excluded but its absence was filled by a double portion of biography, history, travel and popular science. From childhood he had listened to Revolutionary tales of the neighborhood and had seen the graves of the British and American sol-

diers in the burial ground at the old Meeting House. Doubtless these early influences told upon his career, which began among the historic surroundings in which he grew up, but it was his home training that had more to do in making him what he was than the historic features of the country. His first school was that conducted by Friends near the Meeting House.

From Birmingham Isaac Sharpless went to Westtown School in November, 1862, where, after completing its course of study, he returned to teach mathematics in 1868, and where the next autumn, his parents came and resided for five years as Superintendent and Matron. With the exception of one year—1872–3—spent at Harvard, where he obtained the degree of Bachelor of Science in the Lawrence Scientific School, Isaac Sharpless remained at Westtown. In the autumn of 1875 he was appointed Instructor of Mathematics at Haverford College, where he spent the remainder of his useful life. On August 10th 1876 he married Lydia Trimble Cope, daughter of Paschal and Amy A. Cope of West Chester, Pennsylvania, who survives him, with one son and five daughters.

In 1879 Isaac Sharpless was made Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, in which capacity he served until 1884. Readers of Philadelphia periodicals will recall the able articles, on the aspect of the heavens at different periods, which constantly appeared over his signature during those years, and which, together with the reports from the Haverford Observatory, made its service known throughout the academic world, both here and in Europe. For three years he served as Dean of the College, when he was elected President in 1887. His Honorary Degrees were, 1883, Sc.D. from the University of Pennsylvania; 1889, LL.D. from Swarthmore College; 1903, L.H.D. from Hobart College; 1915, LL.D. from Harvard.

His first literary efforts are to be found in the bound

MS. volumes of "The Cabinet," a monthly periodical supported by the teachers and older students of Westtown. His contributions "always possessed a virility which distinguished them from others." A contemporary says of him: "The slow progress of educational matters in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting rested strongly upon his mind." The autumn of 1880 witnessed the advent of "The Student," a modest little monthly magazine "devoted to the interests of education in the Society of Friends." The editors and publishers were Isaac Sharpless and Watson W. Dewees, and it is a striking fact that "it was the first venture of the kind in the history of American Quakerism." Its management changed at the end of four years, but during that period there were several signed articles which were characteristic, besides his editorials. Any attempt to write the history of education in the Society of Friends must take into account the conspicuous part played by Isaac Sharpless in Philadelphia in the early 80's of the last century. When the "Westonian" appeared in 1895 it had his unqualified support.

Isaac Sharpless' best monument is the college into which entered his whole personality. Here for thirty years he remained, much beloved and universally respected; a virile figure, with something of the old time simplicity which left its impress on every student who sat under him. It was his custom throughout to keep in personal touch with every class entering college by teaching two of their courses himself. He has unconsciously given us a true picture of himself in his book, "The American College," in which he describes the ideal college President:

" . . . He is not primarily a taskmaster or disciplinarian, but a man who is giving his life for a cause, and not only for an abstract cause, but for (men) as individuals; that he has a message for them which he must deliver, and that he feels that the very future of

one or more of them lies in the proper use of that power. When he feels thus, he will preach, and his sermon will not be forgotten by some of them."

Not only was he serious in his ideals; he was full of the humor. When applauded for a long time at the Haverford Alumni Dinner of 1918, he said: "I clearly understand that the most popular thing I ever did as President of Haverford was to resign." Isaac Sharpless's pedagogic inclinations, and perhaps his humor may have come from his great-grandfather, John Forsythe (1754–1840), a sandy-haired, gay young Presbyterian from Ireland who later joined Friends and became noted as a teacher at Birmingham and at Westtown.

In addition to his Presidency, 1904–1911, of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, he was active in other historical work, serving as Executive Councillor, 1905–1916, and President, 1909–1912, of the Pennsylvania History Club; Vice President, 1914–1915, and President, 1915–1916, of Friends' Historical Society of England; member of the Committee of Seven Advisers to the Works of William Penn, 1910–1920, and Councillor, 1910–1920, of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. His books quickly gained for him high repute for insight into human motives, sympathetic yet unbiased interpretation of Quaker policies, scientific care in the weighing of evidence, and a corresponding moderation in the statement of conclusions. Thus his was a foremost place among the historians of Pennsylvania.

An equally high ideal was held up to all who followed Isaac Sharpless in his work for clean politics, since his interests were sufficiently wide to impress the reader of his record with his accomplishments in the quiet life which sought no lime-light outside the circle of his duty. His personality, for this very reason, extended his efforts for the realization of his ideals to his college, his neighborhood and his country. The mind of

the man was strictly accountable to a sensitive conscience. Duty and not expediency always determined his course, and the history of Quakerism and of his State will be the poorer for his loss. Though he had been appointed as one of the Commission, upon the revision of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, the condition of his health did not permit him to serve. His death occurred at his home at Haverford, January 16th, 1920, interment being made at Haverford Friends' Meeting House. [*Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, May 1920.*]

THOMAS RODNEY.

BY SIMON GRATZ, ESQ.

(Continued from page 189.)

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Jan^{y}. 4th 1806.

My dear Son,

We had a busy scene at the Land office the two last weeks in December; The Preemption Claimants were paying their first Instalment about two thirds of them paid up; the other third could not raise the Money—Congress Indeed fixed on an Improper time for this Country it was before they could git their Crops to Market—If the first of April Instead of the first of Jan^{y}. had been fixed there would have been but few deficient; but as it was, some could not git any part of their money, others came with half, or two thirds, but nothing less than the whole could be received, so that they had to return home many of them in great dread & distress for fear of Losing their Land and Improvements—But I trust Congress will have Justice and Humanity Enough to give them a further day of payment—Sure I am it will be Injurious to this Country not to do so—I purchased some time ago a small Lot in this town which is to be my Clover Lot. I have also purchased a Lot of 26 acres at the Walnut hills, Including the highest hill near that Place (It is said to be 200, feet higher than any other Land there, and affords a Prospect of the River and the whole Country round) with a road from thence down to the Great Fishing Lake where the trout, Barr-fish or Rock, and soft shell Turtle, also large fresh-water Lobsters, are very plenty —any quantity of Trout may be taken with the Hook & line, hundreds may be caught in a few hours—some

weighing 6^{lbs} These are Excellent Fish and the Barfish are Equal to the Pond Rock—Large Sunfish are also plenty there. Ajacent to this Lot I have purchased a tract of 370, acres, the Chief growth on which is Cane, walnut & Poplar, and the Dark soil is said to be five feet Deep all over it; yet it is highland with one Spring on it, nearly sufficient to turn a mill. Those who live there say it is worth ten dol^{s} ℔ acre at this time—The Latter tract was a Preemption Claim which the Claimant not being able or willing to pay for, transferred to me as a Present and I paid the Instalment and shall go up there this winter to fix a Tenant upon it—to Improve it—The Yazoo Enters the Misisipi a few Miles above the Walnut Hills, and there is a Byo out of the Great Fishing Lake into it—There is Vacant Land all round mine, Except on one End also back to the Indian line; and all of it Very rich—all our Society here of Officers, mean to purchase up there as far as our Money will Enable us—and as soon as the office is open for the Sale of Vacant Land that part will be settled—and when we get the Indian Country above to the Tennessee line the Walnut hills will be the seat of Government for this Territory they being about Midway on the River &^{c}.—The story of Burr grows more feeble It was not true that he was at Nashville on the 18th of last month —Nor have we heard from Gen^{l}. Wilkinson since I wrote by last mail—The Project that Lumed so large lately begins generally to be viewed with Contempt in the West—but however It may turn out at last, there must be an Eclarcesement between Burr and Wilkinson—This will probably reveal the project whatever it was—The two last mails are due from the Federal City—We have got nothing from there later than the 17th of Nov.^{r} tho we Expected the Presidents Message by the Mail before last—My barrel of grass Seeds &^{c}. got home last week—

On New Years day I left my office in which I have

lodged for near two years past and moved to a genteel Boarding House just set up by the widow of a young officer who lately Died at Nachitachez—M^{r}. Shields and M^{r}. Grayson Clerk of the Supreme Court Board at the same House and all the rest of our young officers will probably soon follow us, as they have to be where I am. but when the Board rises—I shall move out of Town where Boarding is much Cheaper—Col. Ellis, Col. Ozmun, Col. Claibourne, have each solicited me to live with them and each of them have offered me a room &c.&c. I probably prefer Col. Ellis's because only a mile from town & M^{rs}. Ellis is a very fine woman so indeed is M^{rs}. Claiborne, Col. Ozmun is not Married—Several others have made like offers but who live too distant from the Seat of business.

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

M. T. Town of Washington Jan^{y}. 21st. 1806.

My dear Son,

Two mails from the Eastward of Nashville are due here now we have received nothing since the Presidents Message to Congress, so that we Know not yet what the sense of Congress is respecting our business with Spain—The Chief anxiety here is on that subject—It is the only one that can much Interest this part of the Country Except as to Land Claims, and this is but a minor subject at Congress—Since the Courts have been over I have been close at the Board and the further we advance in the business the more inappropriate we find the Land Law. It is indeed one of the most Cruid and inappropriate Laws that ever was applied to so important a Subject—The Expense and Difficulties it occasions are great and will in the End when the Board has done the best in their power be Injurious to many in the first Instance and leave many others subject to Law Suits, great Expense and Ultimately Loss of their

property and Labor &c. and as all the Claims are to be surveyed, and all the Country beside to be laid out in Townships and Sections the Surveying will Cost @ 4 dollars a mile, a vast sum of money—This gingerbread Kind of Nicety Costs U. S. unnecessarily a great deal of money when the Country would have been quicker settled and more Contentedly without any of that Expense. If they had opened a Land Office at once and sold of the Vacant Lands as applied for and Left all old titles to have been Settled by Law as they must ultimately be as it is—So that the Present plan is not only Expensive but will produce great Injury—Yet it seems it is to Extend to all parts of the Western Country—But the best way would be to open their Land offices at once and leave it to the applicants or purchasers to find out the Vacant Land they Chose to apply for and leave the Risk on themselves—Then the Vacant Lands would produce great profit to the United States with little Expense—The Government can have no Idea of the trouble and Difficulties we have had in the business here till our works are Returned to them—It is a business Indeed that has worried out the People as well as the Commissioners—They are in fact so tired of it that they have grown Indifferent about bringing in their Title papers or Testimony—which greatly Impedes our progress—I continue in good health and it is generally healthy here—Doct^{r}. Jo. M^{c}Crery has set off to Orleans to go round by sea to Delaware—And^{w}. his brother is Married and Lives in Natchez—Shields continues well and his practice is increasing; Give my love to Susan and the Children. The pamphlets you promised have not reached me yet.

Your affectionate father
Thomas Rodney.

P. S. we had an account last week of a great firing and and Cannonade at Mobile by a gentleman from South Carolina who Came the Sea road, but the Mail from

Tombigbee arrived since and bro^{t}. no account of it—so that it is not now Credited—but it was Conjectured at first that the Brittish or some of our armed Vessels had attacked the Spanish Fort there; in which there is only 240 or 50 men—most of the Settlers of West Florida are Americans so that when attacked it will be Easily taken, but as yet all is quiet between this and Orleans.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington Misisipi Territory
April 8th 1806.

My dear Son,

By last mail I transmitted to you a draft on the Treasury of the U. States for 500, dol^{s}. and now inclose for you a Duplicate of that draft—we have nothing from the Westward since my last letter and Everything now from the Gen^{l}. Government argues only Peace and Negociation with Spain. I suppose this is on the Merchantile Principle of purchasing what we have hitherto Claimed This Principle tends to Confirm all those vast Speculations and Grants made by the Spaniards between the Cession to France & that to the U. S.

There seems Little doubt that, Most if not all the Lands included in the Ceded Country of any Value were granted previous to the Cession to the U. S. to the favorites of the Spanish Officers—or those who would give them most money. It appears to me it would be better to leave our Claims undetermined till we could make good than to Confirm all those Speculations by purchase which would be acknowledging the Spanish title.

I Continue in my usual health, and after this week shall be on the Circuit for 4 weeks In which I shall be Alone Judge Matthew being removed to Orleans & Judge Bruin seldom attends the Court, being great part of his time unable to ride abroad.

Y^{r}. affect^{a}. father
Thomas Rodney

N. B. one hundred Dollars out of the five hundred are to be paid by you to John Fisher Esq^{r}., Dover—

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

M. T. Town of Washington April 30th 1806

My dear Son,

M^{r}. Williams the Gov^{r}. has gone to N. C. for his family, and our new Secretary has not arrived yet, and my new Colleague Judge Matthews is Removed to Orleans so that I have to Ride the Circuit alone and have to Set off to the hights to Morrow—all is Peace and quiet in the west, nothing is Expected now in this quarter but another purchase.

My draft rejected by Gallatin was returned yesterday with an addition of 108. Dol^{s}. Costs and Charges—If he deals with all the other officers of Government as he does with those in this quart^{r}. he must allways have a vast Sum of their money in his hands for speculation—For speculation seems to be the order of the day—and I fear the P. is surrounded and Imbarrassed by those Kinds of Gentry—but things will have their Course. The field is wide and overuling Circumstances will prevail I continue to Enjoy my usual health—give my love to Susan & the Children—I have not heard from any of my friends for a Month past or more past—

Your affect^{e}. father
Thomas Rodney.

P. S. a very Unfortunate Circumstance happened here while I was at Court A quarrel happened at the Post office between the Post Rider and the Postmaster. M^{r}. Winston the Governors brother in Law, and the Rider being very Insolent Winston struck him with a whip whereupon the Rider Instantly stabed him with a long Knife—It was at first thought mortal but he is now Recovering—The Rider was Siezed and sent to the Court & was immediately Indicated & tried, Convicted and sentenced to six months Imprisonment.

T. R.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

M. T. Town of Washington May 14th 1806.

My dear Son,

On my return from the Circuit Court at the hights held for the County of Wilkinson I received your Letter of the 6th Ult. and am greatly pleased to hear your family and Fisher's are well and that your business is beginning to flow again and I am well Pleased to hear that Doctr. Ham has Escaped so well out of the hands of his Persecutors—The Doctr. is an Earnest and active Partizan but he Informs me he is werey of his Situation and means to move to the New Country some where —I am glad to hear that Doctr. McCrery has arrived safe—as the Doctr. has been long in this Country he can give you a full and satisfactory account of it—he promised to write to me soon after his arrival but I have not heard from him yet—his brother and Scipe seem to have the great run of practice since he left here tho I cannot say it has been sickly. Yet I fear it will be on account of the Misisipi not over flowing its banks this Season, a Circumstance never Remembered before by the oldest Inhabitant of this Country and in Countries annually overflown it is apt to be sickly when they happen not to be so, yet I never Enjoyed better health and Indeed it is generally healthy about Washington. I had to traverse the last Circuit alone, Judge Matthews being transferred to Orleans and Judge Bruin not being able to turn out—but I had a pleasant time below. We got Plenty of fine Fish and soft shell Turtle—We have three Kinds of very fine Fish, trout barfish & gaspergoo—The trout is hardly inferior to those of Delaware —the barfish are much like our finest Perch or rather between Rock and Perch and the soft shell Turtles is hardly inferior to our terrapins—but it is seldom these kinds of fish fall in my way so that I had rare Feasting at Captn. Collins's and Col. Ellis's—and now the Col.

is in mind I must mention to you that he wants Harness for four Horses with his Coach, and a proper Coach whip for the Driver, and Indeed If you Could procure a good Driver to come he would have a fine berth with the Colonel—I write thus Expecting you have Received a former Letter on this Subject but will now mention again that I wrote to Webb at Wilmington to make the Col. a Coach, to be made of the best Materials, with Plated Harness and the whole to be Finished off in the most Elegant and fashionable manner but have never heard from him on this Subject—and have since wrote to you to attend to it and If he could not make it to get such an one made for the Colonel in Philad^{a}.—and sent round by way of Orleans—and he has bought his Horses and Expects it round this Fall—The money for it will be Transmitted at any time when Requested—The Colonel is one of our most wealthy Citizens—his Cotton Crop generally sells for ten thousand Dollars a year—I have a request too for Susan to Execute—The Inhabitants here are Extremely bad off for Female Schools—and M^{r}. A. Green one of our wealthy Planters who has six or seven Little daughters to Educate, desired me to Endeavor to procure a Female Mistress, Capable of teaching them, from Philad^{a}. if Possible—That If such an one Can be had, If a Single Woman, he will board her in his own House (which is one of the best in the Territory) and will give her five hundred Dollars a year and allow her to teach as many more Young Ladies as would be reasonable for her to take—Indeed an accomplished Lady well Calculated to Keep a boarding School, and of teaching young Ladies is in very great demand here—if such an one can be Induced to come, there is no doubt of her success, and I am sure there must be plenty of such in Philad^{a}. but she must be Competent to teach Reading writing & cyphering as well as Needlework—A Drawing Master also would find full Employment here—The Planters are Rich, have

large Families, and are Very desirous of Educating their Children in the best Manner—

Our Land business goes on slowly we are obliged to wait for the Surveyors but I hope we shall finish by December at farthest—Gov^{r}. Williams, has gone to N. Carolina for his family—and there is only the Register and myself left but we can go on with it and after the Supreme Court is over I shall have Nothing Else to do till the Fall, only out door Court business. The draft Gallatin Protested was returned to me with $108, cost and Charges on it—This is a new Economical way of paying Public Compensation for Services—It looks to me more like Swindling—and such Conduct must in the End greatly Imbarrass Government. The President is unfortunate too, or is very much Imposed on in his appointments in the west An agent and one of the Commissioners appointed on the other side the River (where all appointments ought to be particularly discreet) are said to be mere Sots and unfit for any such business—His Gov^{rs}. too have been greatly Complained off both here and at Orleans—They are Considered as young men without Experience in State affairs, & therefore However well meaning have not had the good fortune to Please the People, but as I do not Concern in Politics here I only mention this to you—I leave the Government to proceed in its own way, but such mistakes fall at the door of the President which I am sorry for, as no doubt they Come through the hands of the speculative band that surrounds him and I fear in the End will render his reign unpopular—Certain it is, he is some how or other often mislead.

The mildness with which he wishes to govern invites Imposition, Mildness and Energy should alway go hand in hand in governing.—The vavering Variety of Sentiment that has ruled Congress results in applying 2 millions to Purchase the Floridas and in a fruitless attempt to check the Maritime Conduct of G. Brittain.

It will cease of Course with the war, but while her Existence is threatened by Bonaparte Nothing we can do will prevent her guarding that by everything she can do to Injure & Enfeble France—Never the less a strong Remonstrance ag^{t}. her Conduct and Demand of Satisfaction would have been right; but shall we Cut down our fruit tree because she Picks a few Pairs from it to prevent her doing the like again Such Police is not the best—Randolphs Jud^{t}. was better his Integrity and Independence of Spirit almost direct him as wisdom w^{d}. do, with respect to him I am only sorry that he diviates in some degree from that Decorous guard which Every person ought to have over their Conduct & language in Congress for whatever Excuse may be given for Indecorous personal Invective the Dignity of the Nation requires that on that Floor they should always be guarded with that Decent Chastness of Expression which is not invidious however severe—Satire or Censure in a place like that should always be chaste and without a Shade of Scurrility—Overlooking this Shade his speeches are admirable and not only tend to wisdom but to check that host of speculation which threatens ruin to the Country by Subverting its Patriotism and Virtue.

The People of this Territory are greatly Mortified at the Little attention Congress has paid to their Memorial & Representations. Certainly this Territory is the only Post in the western Country which could make an effective Stand against an Invading powerful Enemy and therefore deserves for their own sakes the utmost Care and attention of the United States. It is formidable by its Situation and Seite being a hilly broken Country, and is Respectable by Encluding a great number of old Experienced officers, unnoticed however by our Government while mere Children from abroad are sent to rule over them. but Enough of Politics—Give my love to Susan & the children Adieu—

Thomas Rodney.

N. B. do not forgit to attend To Col. Ellis's Coach—and Let it be of the best Materials and as Elegant and Fashionable as it can be made.

I see by a bill which has passed the House of Representatives that they mean to give us nothing for our Services at the Board during the Months of December, January, February & March last past—can they suppose we live here without Expense? as well as work for Nothing? has this any Example Elsewhere?

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. July 14th. 1806.

My dear Son,

Being at Natchez a few days ago I heard there was a Boat Load of large bones at the River & went Down to View them—They were packed up in a number of boxes, and when Examined I found they belonged to different animals, but most of them to the Elephant or Wild Boar but he had no grinders of the Elephant Kind so large as some I had seen before—but the jaw or grinding teeth of the wild Boar were rather larger than those I had seen before which I formerly described to you; he had also a tusk which it is said when Intire was sixteen feet long & weighed 150lbs but altho this was a foot longer than the one found at the highland Creek it Did not weigh so much for that weighed 172w. Yet in all probability this was the fellow to that and belonged to the same Creature, for this was thicker as well as longer but in part was more decayed which made it lighter—The bones of these two Kinds of animals are Easily distinguishable by their nature and Size but he had horns of some Kinds of animals not hitherto mentiond. by any Naturalist—They seem to have been of the Cow or Bufflo Kind—Some of those horns were five or six feet long others shorter, and some of the shorter ones were very strong and Flattish one way all the Rest were round like Cow horns and formed

differently in the bend of them seeming to vary in that respect as the Horns of Cows do—They were Evidently not Buffalo horns because they are all short and stubbed, whereas these of one Kind were very long in proportion to their thickness Still however no Idea can be formed of the Size of the Creature by the horns as some Small Cows have very long horns—However my Idea of them is that the Creature was large & that it probably was the Face of one of those animals I saw at the big borne lick which measured three feet four Inches a Cross the forehead—He said he had the head of one of the large Animals Complete but It was late and I had not time to view it—He said also that the bones of the largest animals he had when put together would make a skelleton sixty feet long & thirty feet high but I saw no specimens that bespoke that size—He said also that this larger Animal was Carnivorous & undertook to shew one of his Monstrous Claws but the bones he produced as Such Evidently belonged to the foot of the wild Boar which I believe was the largest animal of this Country—and the Hog Kind Indeed are Calculated by Nature to sustain a larger bulk than any other animal in a Northern Hemisphere because all things are food for them. Animals and Vegetables Roots and Nuts &c—The Man who has Collected these bones seems well Suted to such business but not so well to judge of them for he seems to have wild and novel Notions about them—They are however great Curiosities—and serve to shew that many Kinds of animals that have Existed in the World have Perished & Especially of the larger Kinds—This has been the Case with the Giants also among men—They have become Extinct—However I am inclined to believe that the Calamity which swept off all the larger animals of this Country also swept off many smaller kinds and also the Aboriginies or first race of men in our Northern Hemisphere, for the mounds we find in the western Country

Evidently belonged to them as none of the Indian tribes bury their dead in that way—Apropos, a few days ago two Indians were Killed near Natchez they Frequent that City to sell their Peltry & git Whisky—two of them had quarreled and fought some time ago & one of them had one of his fingers bit so bad that it gave him great pain & he could not Cure it so that he was disabled from being a Warrior—and when they met again he told the other who had bit him that as he had begun to Kill him he must Kill him quite—the other reluctantly agreed to do it and they met by agreement in Col. Geraults Lane—The one who was to die went unarmed and had his wife and son with him who Endeavoured to prevail on him not to die, but he scouted them and said he must die—The other came into the lane meeting him with his rifle in his hand and a bottle of whisky—When they got near the one that was to die Presented his bosom; the other took a drink of whisky then Presented his Rifle and shot him through the breast—he died Instantly The other drank the rest of his Whisky then loaded his Rifle again and handed it to the son of the one he had Killed & then Presinted his own bosom to him and the son shot him dead—Then all the Indians Present buried them each near where he was Killed and then Cried over them. Thus it appears an Indian Warrior prefers death to living maimed.

Yours of the 2^{d}. of June Came to hand by the Last Mail—I am very glad to hear you are all well—People of Fortune are Flocking fast to this Country—but as Lands are selling Cheaper in the Floridas Many go there to Settle but in Expectation they will soon belong to America. Gov^{r}. Claiborne is to be married shortly to a Tuckapan girl of the Name of Duval, Daughter of a Frenchman—& she is said to be young and Very Hansom—Yet report says, he is gitting more & more unpopular there—perhaps an alliance with the French may make a Change—It is understood here that Judge

Provost has resigned and only Continues to Act till his Place Can be Supplied—No Judge has been sent here yet in the Room of Matthews who was removed to Orleans—and as Judge Bruin did not attend we had no Supreme Court—I continue in good health—Give my love to Susan & the Children.

God bless you all, adieu,
Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Aug^{t}. 25th 1806.

My dear Son,

As this is the only part of our Country where a rupture with any foreign Nation is likely to take place, I have heretofore from time to time given you information of such Circumstances as have Come to my Knowledge relative to the Conduct of the Spaniards and our Troops on the Frontier in the west—Since I wrote last, a Second Express it is said arrived at Fort Adams from Nachitouchez informing that the Spaniards had advanced within 20 miles of that post and that all the Troops at Fort Adams were Ordered to march to the assistance of the Nachitouchez Garrison which Expected to be attacked before they could arrive there—The Att^{y}. Gen^{l}. who returned from an Orphan's Court held last week at the hights, Confirms this account and says that all the Troops were to leave the hights the day before yesterday—but undoubtedly some must be left to take care of three thousand stand of small arms & 20 or 30 pieces of Cannon said to be there—Govern. will no doubt receive more Correct accounts of these Movements from the officers by this Mail—Gen^{l}. Wilkinson has not Come down yet—Col. Cushing who is said to be a good officer, Commands at Nachitouch—but his whole force after being joined by those from Fort Adams Will probably not Exceed 6 or 7 hundred men & the Spaniards are said to have Nine hundred

Horse and 2000, Infantry—to wit 200, Horse in pursute of Sparkes & Freeman, and 700 approaching Nachitoush and two thousand Infantry near the Sabine River—Of Course if these accounts are true and they are determined to retake the Country it would seem that our Regular Force can hardly prevent it without uncommon Exertion & Enterprize and it is said not much Aid can be Expected from the Orleans Territory Militia—The Militia here are prepairing to be ready to turn out but the Governors of this and the Orleans Territory are inexperienced in Military affairs—and under such the military are not apt to act with Confidence and Spirit & This Territory Contains five Militia Regiments, they are all Commanded now by Col. Ozmun the Eldest Col.—by the Number of Regiments there ought to be two Brigadier Generals and a Major General—These are in the appointment of the President, and Indeed ought to have been appointed long ago—Each County forms a Regiment—Col. Ozmun being put in Command and Residing in Adams and also living an old Revolutionary officer ought to be first Brigadier—and Major Wooldridge of Claiborne County being the only officer of Military Experience in the two uper Counties, might answer for second Brigadier—tho Major F. L. Claiborn of this (Adams) County if he lived in that district perhaps ought to be preferred and If the Government thought proper I would accept the [torn] of Major General, and this I believe not an officer or Soldier in this Territory would object to but they would rather rejoice in such an appointment most of them having Expressed their Wishes if there should be a war here that I may Command them—Yet I am not fond of Commanding Militia in actual Service and [if] we should have a war would prefer being in the Regular army—but shall not solicit one or the other.

Thomas Rodney.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

LETTER OF JAMES BUCHANAN TO CONNER CLARK, MEADVILLE, PENNA.

Cincinnati, 26th Feby 1824.

Mr. C. Clark.

Dear Sir

When I left Meadville I expected to have been back before this, but could not for several reasons. I presume no advantage can be taken of my absence, with respect to my suit—It is the farthest from my intentions to give Major Herriott an *opportunity* of injuring my Security. Mr. Atkinson told me the evening before I left home, that there would be no necessity for my presence at Meadville before May Court, and probably not then. I cannot get home before April—but shall be there as early in that month as possible. I have met with two or three gentlemen here whose evidence will be material in my suit, and have written to Mr. Seldon to send me a rule of Court to take their Depositions in legal form—I hope he will not neglect this—as it is that business only that detains me here.

Respecting your acctª. I can give you no agreeable information. I have inquired at the Mayor's Office, and of many persons whom I thought well acquainted in this city, but can get no intelligence whatever of either Youngs, Stedham or Bacon—Thomas Rodgers is on some Steam Boat that runs to Nashville, or on the Mississippi—I could learn nothing further about him, more than that he is able to pay if he can be found. The name of the Steam Boat I could not learn. I will inquire still further about these gentlemen—and may possibly find some of them before I return. If not, will leave their acctª. with Robert, according to your directions. He says he will do all in his power to collect them if he can hear of the persons.

I have been doing *nothing* since my arrival here. An easy but unprofitable employment. At another Season I presume I could get business enough—but the Winter is always the dull Season in Cincinnati—and the people are now generally crying out "lazy times." Be that as it will, however, and prejudices aside, give me *Old Meadville* for a place of residence—There a person can enjoy hospitable friendship, without formality—and it has always been the first wish of my heart to have some permanent situation there by which I could gain a decent living, and settle myself for life. In that case, I should never desire to set my foot out of Crawford County again. But there is no use in *wishing*—You know the vulgar proverb—Neither is there any use in Complaining—therefore I must be content.

I am very anxious to hear who Gov. Shulze has made our Prothonotary—Lowry I am in hopes. If not, d—n Shulze for a Dutchman.

Robert sends his best respects to you—and says he is in hopes of seeing all his Meadville friends some time. Present my Compliments to Mrs. Clark—to her I owe every feeling of good will that hospitality and Kindness can claim. I am not good at making acknowledgements, but can feel as grateful as another.

In hopes to see you shortly, believe me, dear Sir,

Most Sincerely Your Friend,

Jas. Buchanan.

Forgive my hasty scrawl—Remember me to Lowry.

LETTER OF DR. WILLIAM SHIPPEN TO HIS BROTHER, JUDGE EDWARD SHIPPEN OF LANCASTER, PENNA.

July 27th 1776

My dear Brother,

I was at Princeton when your note of 22nd July came to town. Billy received it and gave the necessary directions. We have nothing new from N. Y. of much importance, now and then a small skirmish between the Troops from different shores. Lord Howe's fleet not yet arrived. Our Troops swarm from every quarter, and are very impatient to be at them—but the General has prudence enough to keep them from running into imminent danger of every kind. I give you joy of the late declaration of Independence and it will now give not only more union but more force to the measures of defense while they may be necessary, for all the while it was delayed there was some danger (notwithstanding almost every province has shown great zeal for the common interest) that some unhappy circumstance might turn up & through human weakness or passion prevent the finishing so desirable an event in which we now have in our power what never happened to any people before in the world, I mean an opportunity of forming a plan of Government upon the most just, rational, equal principles; not exposed as others have heretofore been to caprice or accident or the influence of some mad conqueror or prevailing parties or factions of men but full power to settle our Government from the very foundation "de novo" by deliberate council directed solely to the publick good, with wisdom impartiality & disinterestedness having before us the experience of past ages, pointing out clearly the advantages and disadvantages of all former governments to assist us in our choice of each particular, & then we may look forward (Latin Quotation) to a more flourishing country than ever we have had, & I think in a short time may establish a more mutual & lasting peace with Britain than ever as they may be sure of our trade if they treat us as well as others & if not, they dont deserve it. I dont wonder to see more of our Friends offended & full of resentment upon the change who have heretofore been at ye head of affairs, in short have in many instances behaved as though they thought they had a sort of fee simple in them and might dispose of all places of Honour and Profit as pleased them best now to be ousted or at least brought down to a level with their fellow citizens.

My love to my Sister, Sally Yeates & Miss Patty & to cousin Sally Byrd when you see her

Yours loving Brother
Wm. Shippen

Sukey desires me when I write to send
her kind love to her Uncle and Aunt

LIFE AND SERVICES OF COLONEL HENRY BOQUET. By Hon. Edward F. Robbins. An address delivered before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, in February of 1918, and printed in the July 1920 number of the Magazine of the Society. It is the best compiled biography of that distinguished soldier, whose victory at Bushy Run, one of the best contested actions ever fought between white men and Indians, established the dominion of England permanently throughout Western Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and resulted in a peace with the Indians in league with Pontiac.

COL. EPHRAIM MARTIN, FOURTH NEW JERSEY, CONTINENTAL LINE.—Dr. Edmund J. James, who wrote the memoir of Col. Martin, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. xxxvi, p. 143 *et seq.*, sends the following extracts from a letter from the Adjutant General's Department, Washington, D. C.:

"The records also show that Ephraim Martin served in that war as Colonel of the 4th New Jersey Regiment (established 1776–1779), which regiment for a time was in General Maxwell's brigade. He was appointed as such November 23, 1777, and was reported on a Pay Abstract for January 1779: supernumerary 11 February; which is understood to mean that he was honorably discharged February 11, 1779."

Since Dr. James wrote the memoir, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has purchased Col. Martin's copy of the interesting letter he wrote to Gen. Washington, which follows:

Springfield June 25th 80

Sir,

I think it my duty to acquaint your Excellency with the state of facts respecting Abm. Veel now in provost for harbouring & encouraging those spies who were executed. No man in the world is more averse to schreening the guilty, & I think it equally my duty to assist in relieving the innocent. I have long been acquainted with Veel; his character has always been that of an inoffensive, peacable man. I have taken the utmost pains to investigate the matter & I assure your Excellency, that in my most candid opinion, he is not the guilty person. I am on the track of the facts & hope very soon to unmask the whole affair. At present I am well convinc'd that a certain Jos: Shadwell, a relation of Veel's wife introduced the spies to his barn contrary to the knowledge of said Veel, but perhaps not without the knowledge of his wife.

Should not your Excellency think proper to dismiss Veel altogether from this representation I will be responsable for his appearance at any future day, if suspicions continue against him & I request that for the present, he may be permited to return to his family.

I have explained the matter much more fully to Maj Gen: Greene & Lord Stirling, whom I beg leave to refer your Excellency for further satisfaction on the head.

I am, with the highest esteem & respect
Your Excellency's most obedient
and very humble servant
Eph: Martin

FISHELS BURIED AT THE ROTH CHURCH, near Spring Grove and La Botte, York County, Penna. This church, also known as Trinity Reformed Church, is one hundred and thirty-five years old, and it is asserted that some twenty years ago the Church Board ordered the destruction of their records. In addition to the Fishels, a great many of the following families are buried in its cemetery: Roth, Wiest, Spangler, Stover, Miller, and Stambaugh.

FRANK L. CRONE.

FISHELS.

Daniel, died Sept. 16, 1899, age 80 years, 9 months, and 2 days. (Father of Samuel Fissel who lives at LaBotte.)

George, died Feb. 7, 1904, age 74 years, 6 months, and 22 days.

Franklin, son of George and Saretta, died June 4, 1898, age 28 years, 9 months, and 27 days.

Alexander, died July 27, 1915, age 60 (?).

Sarah, wife of Alexander, died Jan. 11, 1896, age 21 years, 8 months, and 21 days.

George W., died May 29, 1910, age 56 years, 9 months, 29 days.

Amanda S., wife of George, died April 2, 1879, age 24 years, 5 months, and 4 days.

Michael S., died July 12, 1878, age 37 years, 6 months, and 16 days.

Sarah, wife of George, died Jan. 1, 1875, age 79 years, 6 months, and 26 days.

Anne M., daughter Alexander and Sarah, died April 12, 1875, age 16 years, 1 month, and 21 days.
Catherine, died Oct. 15, 1891, age 71 years, 3 months, and 15 days.
Zachariah, died June 4, 1908, age 80 years, 5 months, and 18 days.
John, died March 5, 1866, age 71 years, 7 months, and 1 day.
Mary M., died July 15, 1874, age 78 years, 11 months, and 20 days.
Infant son of Michael and Mary, died Nov. 27, 1866.
Christina, wife of Henry, died June 7, 1846, age 68 years.
Sarah, wife of Samuel, Aug. 15, 1827—Sept. 5, 1869.
John Henrich, Sept. 16, 1766, Jan. 5, 1830.
Johannes, June 14, 1791, April 24, 1814.
Michael, Feb. 11, 1770—Nov. 30, 1815.
Magdalena, wife of Michael, Nov. 10, 1775—Dec. 20, 1841.
Anna Barbara, May 13, 1704, April 3, 1823.
Daniel, April 10, 1797—May 18, 1831.
Margaret, June 16, 1806—Nov. 29, 1830.
Leah, died Jan. 4, 1826, age 13 years, 4 months, and 5 days.
David, March 16, 1807—March 18, 1830.
George F., died Feb. 22, 1832, age not known.
Salinda, died Feb. 28, 1832, age 6 mo. 21 days.
Henrich, Aug. 2, 1793—March 6, 1814.
Jacob, 1818—Aug. 22, 1823.
Michael, died March 20, 1864, age 55 years, 9 months, and 8 days.
Sarah, wife of Michael, died July 30, 1883, age 70 years, 9 months, and 14 days.
Mary, wife of David, Dec. 28, 1796—Aug. 8, 1872.
Amanda, daughter of Michael and Sarah, died Aug. 1, 1871, age 21 years, 6 months, and 4 days.
Savilla, Daughter Michael, died Oct. 4, 1853, age 17 years, 11 months, and 10 days.
"Hier ruhen die gebeine von Frederich Fishel er trat in diese welt am 26ten Horning und verlies dieselbe an 27ten Aprill, 1817 seines altes 30 jahren, 2 monaten, und 1 tag."

NOTICE OF DEATH OF JOSIAH JONES, OF EVESHAM, BURLINGTON CO., N. J., 1770.—"On the 11th Inftant, were interred, in the Quakers Burial place, in Evefham, Burlington County, New Jersey, the Remains of Josiah Foster, who died at that Place two Days before, in the Eighty-eighth Year of his Age.

Till the Springs of Action wore out by Decay of Time, he was always an induftrious Man, ftudying for Quiet, and minding his own Bufinefs, and, with the Bleffing of Providence, provided carefully for his Family.

He was religioufly uniform, and very unexceptionable in his Conduct.—Such the Regularity of his Life, and Temperance, that he never took a Vomit or Purge, nor was overcome by ftrong Drink.—Such his Humanity that he never fued any Person at Law, nor was ever fued himself."

Penna Gazette, Jany. 18, 1770.

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OF

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VOL. XLIV. 1920. No. 4.

THOMAS RODNEY.

BY SIMON GRATZ, ESQ.

(Continued from p. 284.)

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Septr. 6th 1806.

My dear Son,

Yesterday dispatchez arrived from Governor Claiborne who was at Nachitochez with more Correct accounts than we had before. Major King, who went over with Govr. Claiborne also arrived here and Dined with me yesterday—The Spaniards, say twelve hundred strong, Crossed the Sabine and arrived at the Stoney Creek or Bayon Piere French Settlement, about 60 Miles on this Side the Sabine, and about fifty miles from Nachitochez, The Stony Creek falls into Red River—Thence they sent on a party within seven miles of Nachitochez Some Communications passed between Governor Claiborne and the Spanish Commander, and then the small party returned to the Main body at the French Settlement afsd. where they say they are Ordered and Determined to Remain, and are Expects. reinforcements—This I believe is the same Post from Whence Turner Expelled them—Our whole Force at

Nachitochez when those from the hights arrive will not Exceed 500, men—One Company is left at the hights—There are 250, Regulars at Orleans, and about 120 at Tombigbee—This is the whole of our Regular Force in this quarter—The Spainards I believe are weak both at Battonrouge & Mobile—But they can be readily reinforced from Pensacola or the Havana. Contrary to my last information we are now informed that the old French Inhabitants on the other side of the River would not turn out against the Spainiards, only the Americans could be prevailed on, but they turned out readily. The people of this Territory are Spirited and are raising Volunteer Companies—This Country is Strong and I believe the Inhabitants Could defend it against any sudden force the Spaniards can send but the Country below is level and open where Horse can act with great advantage—and the greater part of the Spanish Forces are said to be Cavalry—Yet I am pursuaded that if Hostilities were to Commence our Little Force by dint of Enterprize and Exertion would be too hard for them—but it does not seem likely at Present that Hostilities will take place—Col. Cushing does not think his orders require or admit his attempting to force the Spaniards over the Sabine again, and Indeed If things can be so managed correctly it will be best to avoid Hostilities till we hear the fate of the Negociations in Europe. Our Fall Circuit has already Commenced, so that after next Monday week I shall be Engaged at the Courts till near Christmas—We are now Issuing Preemption Certificates and hope to finish them while Judge Bruin attends the Uper Circuit—We have a new Judge Coming to wit Obediah Jones of Georgia—If he arrives in time I shall stick to the Board for we have been greatly delaid for more than six months for want of the Returns of Survey to Enable us to State or Regulate Conflictions and are now greatly hurried to git the Preemptions out in time to prevent Forfeighture—Judge

Provost, of Orleans is removed but we have not heard who is appoint. in his place, or whether any body yet—The Kentucky Paper stiled the Western World Charges him and E. Livingstone among others with being Concerned with Wilkinson Burr, J. Brown & many others (Concerned in an [torn] one) in a New Conspiracy ag^{t}. the Union—This Paper attracts great Attention here for many here are acquainted with the old Project of the Spaniards &^{c}. but the new one seems to be a secret yet—It is said governm^{t}. were formerly well informed of the old Plan and the leading Persons —but if it be true, many wonder why Wilkinson is trusted with the Chief Command in this Quarter—One of Gen^{l}. Wayne's old Captains informed me that the story of Newmans Conduct was stronger against Wilkinson than has yet been related in the Western World —This he speaks of his own Knowledge and says the Depositions were sent on to government. Even Gen^{l}. S. Smith is Implicated in the last paper—on that Subject—The Charges are bold and decisive—and if Such Plans as sugested be in Embrio, Certainly it behoves Government to be Vigilant and Choice of the high appointments they make in this Part of the Union. Wood, who wrote the History of Adams' Administration, who you may Remember wrote to me about the Author of Juniors's Letters it seems is the Editor of the Western World—his abilities are therefore thought equal to the task he has Under taken.

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M. T. Nov^{r}. 21st. 1806.

My dear Son,

Your Letter of 27th of Sept^{r}. came to hand by the Mail before last, and by last Mail I received one from you and one from Little Eliza, dated the 12th of October. I had an Account of my Seeds having arrived at Or-

leans by a Letter from Major R. C. before your Letter came to hand—I received a Letter also from Webb the Carriage Maker and shall attend to what you both say on that Subject and will write by the next Mail—

I gave you some hints in my last of a Conspiracy that is said to be organizing or Organized in the Western Country. This Subject is now universally talked of here, and the Existance of it almost universally believed by all sorts of People—The Design of the Conspiracy is said to be to unite Kentucky, Tennessee Louisiana, The Floridas and part at least of Mexico into an Independent Empire—and that the Spanish Governors of those Provinces are to act in Concert with the Conspirators of our Country to Effect this purpose under the Patronage and Protection of J. B. And that they Expect a Brittish Fleet to aid them which is to arrive at the mouth of the Misisipi within two or three months at Farthest—Col: Burr, Gen[l]. Wilkinson and D. Clarke (the Delegate to Congress from the N. O. Territory) are said to be the Leaders of this Conspiracy to separate the Western Country from the United States—That Col. B. is building Vessels on the Ohio for arming, and that great stores of arms and ammunition are Deposited at Orleans for the purpose—Such at least is the general belief here—you know that I am not Easily Alarmed with Projects or wild adventures of this Sort—I passed through all the Storms and Difficulties of the Revolution and was often surrounded with Treason, Conspiracy and Insurrection, without dreading either but those around me say I feel too secure—That this Conspiracy Presents an awful and dangerous aspect, Especially when It is Considered that Gen[l]. W. has all the Public forces and all the Public Stores under his Direction—And they say the generals ordering all the Troops down to Orleans and requiring five hundred Militia from this Territory to go there, and Sending all the arms and ammunition from Fort

Adams without any Evident necessity for such Concentration of the Force of the Country is strong Evidence of some Nefarious Design &c. It is true that such a Conspiracy without his Concurrence Could have no prospect of Success—Yet it is hard for me to believe that an old Revolutionary soldier now Enjoying the highest favor of Government Could Combine in such a Plot against the government that Employs him. The Impression here, however, is so strong against him that I believe if the Militia were ordered out to act under him they would refuse to go—Yet no part of the Citizens of the U. S. Could have acted more promptly or with more ardor than those of this Territory did when called on to go immediately against the Spaniards.

A number of the officers of the Regular army are also much dissatisfied with the Generals Conduct towards them—Some have resigned and others talk of Resigning on that account—Their Resigning is to be Commended because it is believed that they are the Honest friends of the U. S. and that he Misuses them to bring them into his Measures or drive them out of the army that he may have none but those with him that will Concur in his Measures. If he is honest, he has had Experience Enough to know that it is his duty to Conduct himself so toward his officers as to Command their Respect and Esteem as well as obedience and therefore a Contrary Conduct is Construed as Inimical. Certainly it would be a Serious thing for him to join any such Conspiracy, for whether he succeeds or not he will in that Case be Execrated by all Mankind—for all Men dispise Traitors—And, such Conspirators as these are thought to be, Can have no pretext but to aggrandize themselves—The People are not suffering under Tyrany or oppression but Enjoying the blessings of Peace and happyness, and therefore they Cannot Expect them to join in any such desperate adventure—So that even if the Gen^{l}. is at their head

they can have no rationable prospect of Success—and without him none—Yet since such things seem to be in Contemplation it is necessary for Government to be Vigilant and Active to prevent or suppress the mischief.

Thomas Rodney.

However willing Great B. may be to promote Discord in America, She cannot be in a Situation at this Time to break with the U. S. for if they was Cast into the Scale with France the Mistress of the Ocean would soon sink to Distruction.

The Gen[l]. left Natchez yesterday—He resided while in this Territory at Major Mura an old Spanish officer —and is still thought to be one tho an American—This gave the People here great Cause of offence and suspicion ag[t]. the general—

Our Secretary is preparing to send on by this Mail a full account of this Conspiracy [torn] documents tending to Verify it, to government and therefore I am less particular than I might be.

Thomas Rodney to President Jefferson.

Town of Washington Nov[r]. 21. 1806.

Dear Sir,

The Secretary being about to send Government an account of a Project in Agitation in the Western Country to Separate it from the United States, my duty and Attachment to the United States and their Government induces me to Inform you as the head of the government that this project is now Universally & publicly talked of here, And that it is generally believed that Gen[l]. Wilkinson, Aron Burr, Daniel Clarke (The Delegate from the Orleans Territory) and other Conspicuous men in the Western Country are active Agents in this Nefarious project—The project is said to be a Design to Combine the Western Country including Louisiana, Kentucky and Tennessee, with Florida

and Part of Mexico in one Independent Empire; and it is said that the Spanish Governors of these Provinces are combined in the project and that the Conspirators are to be aided and protected by G. Brittain and that they Expect a Brittish Fleet in the Gulf within two or three months at farthest to act in Conjunction with them and If they succeed the Empire thus to be formed is to form an Alliance with Great Brittain, and that Nation is to Enjoy every reasonable advantage in Commerce with the New Empire—Great store of arms and ammunition is said to be Deposited at Orleans for the use of the Conspirators and that Col. Burr is building gunboats up the Ohio and other Vessels suitable to be used on this occasion. These things and the Gen[l]. conduct Immediately after making a temporary Peace with the Spainards seems to give Suspicion at least of his being Concerned in the Conspiracy—Indeed such an attempt Could have no prospect of Success without his Concurrence—Our weekly Letters from Orleans show that Every thing is quiet there yet—The Gen[l]. Immediately after Settling Peace with the S— ordered most of the Regular troops down to Orleans and Posted on to Natchez and required the Secretary to send 500, of the Militia of this territory to Orleans as soon as possible, to Continue there three months without any Evident Necessity for such a Measure. This being the only part of the western Country where the firm friends of the United States Could Immediately make any resistance to the operations of the Conspirators It is believed that the Gen[l]. wanted to have the Militia of this Territory in his power, Either to Influence them to act with him or at least to prevent their acting against him —He has also taken all the arms and ammunition from Fort Adams but a very few arms, and a small quantity of ammunition as it is said—and when I was there lately at the Circuit Court I observed that all the Artillery Except a few heavy pieces were taken away. Thus I have Presented a view of this project as it ap-

pears here—Yet I beg leave to observe that having passed through all the Storms and Difficulties of the Revolution and having been often surrounded with Conspiracy and Insurrection, I am not Easily alarmed, but the Information Developing this project daily increasing and pressing on the mind I am forced to Consider it high time for the U. S. to act promptly Vigilently and energetically on the occasion and that without such Conduct there is danger of their losing this Country—It may be said that G. B. is Treating with the U. S. and that if she were not She is not in a situation to aid such a project, and that without her aid the Conspiracy must Vanish like a dream and the Conspirators Conceal themselves from public view but neither the Integrity nor even the Present situation of that Nation can be securely relied on in such a Case—but you who sit on the hill of Government may see farther and Comprehend more than we can here, and no doubt will act as you think best and most wise for the benefit of the Union.

It has been hard for me to believe that Gen[l]. W. an old Revolutionary soldier and now Enjoying the highest favor of Government would Engage in a Project so adverse to the Government he is serving and a Project, which whether he succeeds in or not must render him Execrable in the View of all mankind, for all mankind Despise traitors—This is not the project of a People Laboring under tyranny, but the project of Restless Individuals ambitious to aggrandize themselves—With the highest respect—& esteem, I remain

Your most obedient,
Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington M T. Dec. 9[th]. 1806.

My dear Son,

By a Letter I received from Orleans by the Last Mail, from an Old Revolutionary officer I am Informed

that Gen[l]. Wilkinson had arrived there and that all the Troops were Expected down there in a Short time, and that the Orleans Volunteers were in training Every week that the Gen[l]. was busily Engaged in having the Fortifications, gun Carriages, and Barracks repaired &[c]. and he Expresses great Confidence in the General upon Revolutionary Principles, Seeming to think that one who had passed through the Revolution and possesses his Experience Could not be Induced to Swerve from his Duty to his Country. Yet I am Informed by some of the Members of the Legislature here, that there has been great talk among them, and others out doors, of M[r]. Burrs Projects up the River and his Design of Coopperating with Mironda &[c]. But Notwithstanding all the bustle in this quarter with the Spaniards and all the talk of Conspiracy—Not a line has arrived from Government to the Executive here, or any other officer in this territory on that Subject or any other Since the bustle Commenced—whether this be the fault of the Mail, or whether our Superior Officers have become too Elevated to have any Connection or Correspondence with the distant officers of Government, or whether they have become regardless of these distant parts of our Country, is left to Conjecture—but Certainly it Indicates a degree of Neglect far from that Vigilance and attention which a Republican Government requires—and the Territories being more Immediately dependent on the General Government than the States themselves, require more of its attention, This Inattention has its Evil Effect, It Encourages those who Observe it, and who are Disposed to pull down the Administration to increase and urge their Attacks on One or another, of them with more avidity well Knowing that a Government regardless of its Officers and Citizens will not, be very warmly Supported by them, because remissness in one friend, naturally begets it in another, and however desirous of Supporting them, when they Know

not what the Administration are Doing, they possess not the Necessary Means of doing it—And such is the Superior Excellence of Republican Government that Inferior Officers have as much right to Judge of the Conduct of Superior Officers, as these last have of theirs, and the propriety or Impropriety of the Conduct of one or the Other will always have Its Effect if Even not a word of Censure passes.

I have been so much Involved in the business of the Court and Land office together that I have not a moments time to write but when Everybody Else are asleep.

We have had it very Cold here for two weeks past, no doubt quite as Cold as in Delaware, but it altered last Evening with a warm rain—William Dunbar Esq^{r}. while attending the Supreme Court last week as a juror, had his Cotton Ginn, Mill House, Carriage and all his out buildings burnt down; with three hundred thousand weight of Cotton in the Ginn House—It is supposed the Cotton being in the Seed heated and set itself on fire—his loss is Estimated at 16,000, or 20,000. Dollars—he is however very wealthy as you may see by his Crop (for great part of it was not then bro^{t}. in) but he has a large family.

It has been universally and remarkably healthy in all this Country this Season—No Country Could be more so—My Seeds are on the way from Orleans but have not arrived yet—M^{r}. Poindexter called on me a few days ago & Informed me he had not yet sent on Webbs Money but that they had sold their Cotton and as soon as he could possibly procure a bill he would put it in my hands to be transmitted to Webb—I have been very uneasy at his being disappointed so long—Col. Ellis I trust has sent his on—his Carriage had not arrived at Orleans ten days ago & I fear it will be in some of the winter storms on the Coast—

Give my love to Susan & the Children—

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington Feb^{y}. [?] 1807

My dear Son

You will no doubt be anxious to Know what has become of Col. Burr &^{c}.&^{c}. He Su[b]mitted to the Civil Authority and Came before Me and gave Bail for his app^{c}. at Court—The Court met on Monday the Second of this Instant and adjourned over to next day when a Grandjury Was Impannelled and Charged by Myself—The Att^{y}. General Poindexter said on Viewing all the Depositions there was Nothing to found a bill on—and also thought that if there was It would be Useless, as the proceedings might be reversed on a writ of Error as he Conceived the Supreme Court here did not possess Federal Jurisdiction under the act of Congress &^{c}.—M^{r}. Burr himself rose and acknowledged the Jurisdiction and the Court had no doubt on this question—Nevertheless the Atty. General Declined to send any bill to the Grand Jury, and then the Court ordered the Witnesses Sworn and Sent to them—The Jury Returned in the afternoon with a presentm't acquiting M^{r}. Burr—The Witnesses were then dismissed and M^{r}. Harding Counsel for Burr solicited that he should be discharged from his Recognizance but as the Court were Divided, (Bruin for it, Rodney ag^{t}. it) this was denied M^{r}. Burr however went away and did not appear again—On the 5th I went away to Marry our friend W. B. Shields to Victoria Benoith A fine Little girl of 15 with a Hansome Independent Fortune and Respectable Connections We had a Sumptious and pleasant Weding and Shields I think has made a happy Match—on the Sixth I returned again but the Court Could not sit it was so Cold—The Thermometer down to 11.—On the 7th Still Cold and we only sat while Col. Burr was Called out on his Recognizance, and then adjourned to the next term—On the 6th the Governor Issued a Proclama-

tion offering $2000 for Retaking Col. Burr—and since that the military arrest all his adherents that came down with him, about 40, of them are now under guard Three in this town—the rest in Natchez as it is said but Military Law is not a little Complained off yet on the spur of the moment is Submitted to as no formal or Legal application has been made to me. All is Military Bustle, and the Constitution and Laws are forgot but will no doubt revive again when this Windy Storm blows over—Burr had ten boats, about one hundred men and not a gun a piece for them—a mighty force to Erect a New and Independent Empire It seems like a second Edition of the Kemper attempt—And Burr only appears the greatest Don quixote of the two—The Mountain has surely brought forth a Mouse. How many thousand Agents and Emisaries has France Spain and England spread over our Country to blow up these windy Storms and Confusion in our Country? Is it not to frighten us into Discord and Extravagant and Unconstitutional Conduct—Will not the arbitrary Conduct of our high Officers on the pretext of Supporting Government give the Constitution a more dangerous Shock than Burr or any other Man Could do at the head of ten thousand Men in open Rebellion? If Burr had gone on he must have shewn in a few days, what his aim was—and then, If they were Illegal, would soon have been punished, for what would his trifling force have availed him?

Yet I have such Confidence in the Constitution and Laws and the Virtue of their real friends that this Bustle, however Intended will end in favor of them. That it will be an Experiment that will Invigorate them by Calling forth their Strength to Correct Every Violation of them—and it will favor this Country by being a force to it sufficient to protect it in peace & quiet against any such Frivolous Enterprize—Notwithstanding all the Noise about Col. Burr he does not appear

to me to possess a mind in Condition and Competent to plan or Execute such an Enterprize as has been talked of—his aspect appears that of Distress not one prompted by the strong Genius of Certain Success—

Two of our Gun boats and two Natchez are now in the River at Natchez—The Gen^{l}. & Gov^{r}. Claibourne have solicited our Governor to send Burr and all his Men down to Orleans, and sent a party to take them here & carry them down—The Gov^{r}. objected to this but has ordered parties of Militia out who have arrested most of Burrs Men of any account and Keep them under guard but whether he will send them off or not I have not heard, he is now in Natchez and all Burrs boats have been brought down there. I am determined to be firm in Maintaining the Constitution and Laws, let who will stand or fall by them—I will not deviate Even to please the President or any of his officers—The Military may arrest but they cannot try a citizen, Even when taken in arms—and if they transport them from one place to another they must do it on their own Responsibility, as the General has done. But by & by the Constitution and Laws will ask them by what Authority this is done? Yet if arms are to rule I know my Station—I believe that Burr if guilty had better Escape than that the Constitution and Laws should be violated by those acting under them—12th The Gov^{r}. discharged the Military last night and returned from Natchez and Communicated to me that he had released Burrs men all but Blanerhaset—Floyd & Ralston who he had retained for Examination—and Declared his Determination to support the Civil Authority according to the Constitution and Laws—Col. E who I had lectured for advising arbitrary Measures, returned from Natchez this Evening and said the Distress he saw Burrs men & their boats in there, had Changed his Mind—The Gov^{r}. said that a boat just arrived at Natchez met Burr going up the

River in a six-oared Barge—This is the last Tidings of him—probably he is aiming for Canada.

[Not signed]

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington March 1st. 1807.

My dear Son

Yesterday an Express arrived from Tombigbee with a Letter from Lt. Gains Informing that he had arrested Col. Burr on the 19th Ult. and had him in Close Custody —Thus it appears he is still within this territory—but what measures the Governor or General may take with respect to him I do not yet Know—I have not yet been Advised with on the occasion and only advise when applied to Unless when the Constitution or Law make it my duty—In this Case Col. Burr having fled from his Bail I do not feel it my duty to Interfere Unless Legally applied to—but the Govr. informed me he was about to do what he thought his duty but did not say what that was—I am very glad however that he is taken and that he will have to answer for his misdeeds somewhere and at a time when perhaps they will be better Known than when he was before the Grand Jury here—I am Informed that Doctr. Carmichal (who was then at Orleans) could have proved the Express Intention of Burr & his party It having been Communicated to him By Floyd and Ralston two of the persons who are to answer here at the next Court—Every thing here is restored to quiet—(March 2d.) The Govr. Called on me this morning and informed me he had sent Mr. Dinsmore the Choctaw agent to bring Col. Burr back here with the View of Getting a Legal order to transmit him for trial to the Seat of Government, or where it may be most proper in one of the armed Boats, or otherwise, as may be most proper.

It appears by the Deposition of Thomas Peterkin, U. S. Factor at the Chicasaw Bluffs that Col. Burr on

his way down the River stoped there two nights, and as he Peterkin believes Corrupted L^t. Jackson who Commanded there—That he Burr bought Lead, and had 500, Musquet balls run there by one of the garrison soldiers—that when Burr Came the L^t. had no money or very Little—That after Burr left there this L^t. had Rols of Burrs notes on the Banks of Kentucky, and an order from Burr on Smith of Ohio, the army Contractor, for $500—which he offered to Peterkin at ten ℔^{t}. Discount—that said L^t. told Peterkin he had sent on his Resignation and if it was not accepted soon he would leave the garrison with one of the Sargents &c. that he the L^t. is Constantly Drunk, and very Disorderly—& that he beat and abused the Factor outrageously, so that he was obliged to leave the Post for safety—& this Information is sent by Express to the General to git him removed & bring him to justice.

Col. Burr left two Letters there—one for Smith af^d. and one for Col. M Kee formerly an Indian agent, which was sent by Express next day after Burr left there—The Express met McKee, and on reading the Letter, McKee turned back, and came down & met Burrs boats at the Mouth of Bayon Piere—I saw him here, but it was not Known then that he was in Connection with Burr, tho some suspected him—& he soon went off again—The Plot is so unfolding that it is probable, Enough of the truth may appear by our next Supreme Court to Convict some of them here—the Affidavit of General Eaton, published in the Papers bro^t. by the last Mail, shews that Col. Burrs object was the most Diabolical treason—such as none but the most wicked adversaries & traitors to Republican Government could Combine in. The Vigilence which the President has already manifested I trust will Convince all such, that they presume too much on his Peaceable, and Unsuspecting Mind.

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to Cæsar A. Rodney.

Town of Washington April 27th. 1807.

My dear Son

Your Letter of the 15th of March last Came to me by the Mail before last at the Adams Circuit Court—but have not had time till now to write—Nothing beyond Nash Ville from the East ward Came by the last Mail—As I have to set off the day after tomorrow for Wilkinson County Circuit Court I sit down to write you a few lines.—All is quiet here, the last we heard of Mr. Burr was by one of the Citizens of this town who in Returning from the Eastward met him with party conducting him to Washington City on the borders of North Carolina on the 18th of March so that no doubt he has arrived long before this time—Four of his Comrades—To wit, Blenerhassett, Tyler, Ralston and Floyd are to be tried here at the next Supreme Court Sitting as a Federal Court on the 4th Monday in Next Month—there was an application from the General in Virtue of advice from the President as he said to have them or some of them removed to the Federal City, but as we were informed of the Discharge of Bollman & Swartwort soon after this application it was not thought necessary to Consider the question of sending them—beside there seemed to be as much Evidence against them in this Territory as in any other particular District so that it did not appear by any Evidence here necessary to be at the Expense of sending them Elsewhere to be tried—What may be the Event of the Enquiry here is yet uncertain—when it is over you will be informed of the Consiquence—We here that a Mr. Leck of Virginia has been appointed a Judge in this Territory, and I fear if he does not Come on in time we shall have no Supreme Court as Judge Bruin seldom attends and when he does, is apt not to be in a situation to attend properly to business so that most of the Judicial busi-

ness at all times rests on me and takes up too great a portion of my time—I have seen the act in the paper raising our Salaries, and suppose it Intended to Commence the increase from the first of January last yet it seems uncertainly Expressed in the printed Copy—I Care not what if any thing Else is due me by the Treasury for I have been so Constantly Employ[d] in the public business that I have not had time to post or look over My books—When the Courts are over I shall attend to them and to what you have mentioned and hope I shall have Something to spare by July—I know I should have been beforehand if I had not laid out $1400 in purchasing a tract of land and some Houses & Lots in this town However I believe I shall sell them again, as they have been already applied for, and are not necessary for me to keep if I can git a better proffit by the Sale—You will see by the Orleans papers that the General and Governor are much abused there—I am much Pleased to hear that your nearer acquaintance with the President Increases your Estimation of his Conduct and Integrity—He is highly Esteemed and Respected in this Country and has been rising in Estimation Ever since I came here—I will write to Fisher as soon as I can git time—As yet my grass seeds and garden look Very flourishing tho I have had little time to attend to them—Give my love to Susan and the Children and God preserve you all in health and prosperity—

Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to — —.

Town of Washington M. T. April 28[th] 1807

Gentlemen

Observing among the Acts of Congress passed at the last Session as published in the papers, An Act Increasing the Salaries of the Judges of this Territory to

twelve hundred Dollars ₰r Ann and Understanding this Increase to have Commenced on the first day of January last I have Ventured to draw on the bank of the U. S. States for one hundred Dollars, which If this Statement is right, fell due on the first quarter Ending the last day of March and not knowing this at that time, I only made a draft then, for two hundred Dollars being the usual quarter Salary at Eight hundred Dollars ₰r Ann. the former Salary Allowed Each of the Judges— but if I should be mistaken with respect to the Commencement of the Increase of Salary, I must beg you to Honor the draft for the one hundred Dollars, afr^{d}. and I will make the proper deductions in my next draft. I am Respectfully

Y^{rs} most obed^{t}.
Thomas Rodney.

Thomas Rodney to John Fisher, Dover.

Town of Washington May 17th 1807.

Dear Sir

It was intimated to me some Little time ago that it was probable you might obtain an appointment in this western Country in Case an opertunity should offer— If you would accept, but being then Engaged on the Circuit and not knowing of any Vacancy that was worth your acceptance I did not immediately write to you— but I have been informed within a few days that Mr. Graham the Secretary of the Orleans Territory having been ordered round with General Wilkinson to give Testimony against Burr, and that he has or means to resign I conclude to advise you of that Circumstance thinking perhaps that Station might suit you as it would not prevent your following your Profession where much money is made by the practice, yet in one of your last letters to me you seemed to decline any thoughts of any part of this Country, Nevertheless I

think it advisable to make this Communication to you not knowing what Change may have taken place in your Mind since—but I must say that if you were to Come to the Western Country I should be glad to have you nearer to me than Orleans, but there is nothing here at present worth your acceptance—Yet upon receiving this Notice if you should think it advisable to Come into the West, I wish you to Intimate this to *my Son* Immediately, that if any Opertunity occurs of any office that you would accept of he may then advise the Government of your mind or Communicate the Circumstances to you—It would give me great Pleasure to have your family so near that I could visit them Once in a while, without Deserting my Post, and have some of the Children with me. At Present I am in a boarding house but in a few Weeks Expect to move into a House of my own in this town where I have a hansome garden & three or four hansome grass Lots—where I shall be with a servant or two only, and the House is large Enough to take in your family—If anything should happen to Invite you to this Place. The Practice of the Law itself is Profitable here, and all those who Practice under my Patronage have been successful —Shields is among the highest on the Docket, & Poindexter the late Att^{y}. Gen^{l}. told me he made $5000, a year tho he was not one of the most attentive to business—he goes to Congress next fall—I have not heard from you for a long time, let me hear from you as soon as you git this Letter and if you have any Idea of accepting an appointment in the western Country do not neglect to advise Cæsar of it immediately as it takes several Months to Communicate here and back again— I continue in perfect health Indeed hardly any place is healthier than this town—It has greatly improved since I came and Indeed we have a Society here now Very Similar to that which Ixisted in Dover in My youthful days—Sally knows what that was and if she was here

now she would almost think that happy Period had returned again—Indeed I Enjoy such health and activity that I hardly feel any difference between now & then. Give my love to the dear little Children and to Sally and Betsy, and be assured I long to see you all.

Your friend

Thomas Rodney.

(To be continued.)

ITEMS OF HISTORY OF YORK, PENNA., DURING THE REVOLUTION.

[The following items are selected from the diaries of the Moravian congregation at York, Rev. George Neisser, pastor (brother of Augustine Neisser, the clockmaker of Chestnut Hill and Germantown, Philadelphia). Unfortunately the diaries for 1776, '77, '79 are missing.]

May 31, 1775.

"Up to the present time this place has been comparatively quiet, with this exception, that three companies have been formed, and are actively engaged in drilling, so as to become accustomed to the use of arms.

"To-day there was an excitement. In spite of all warning a German gave vent to his feelings in insulting Congress and its measures for instituting defensive warfare. In accordance with the usual mode of punishing such delinquents, he was seized, and tarred and feathered, for his insulting speech."

July 31, 1775.

"With the people in general we have thus far been at peace. However, urgent requests are sent to our people to attend the drilling in the use of arms. Most of our brethren in town have, however, arrived at that age in which they can no longer be compelled to attend drills. A few of the young men have yielded, and one of them, Benjamin Rothrock, son of Philip Rothrock, in spite of the remonstrances of both his father and brothers, went off during the night with a company of Virginia troops, which marched through this place."

August 18, 1775.

"Considering that this is a time of war, circumstances prove quite favorable. A few of our number

have consented to take part in the military drills; if only more will not be required of them. Several of our young men, in spite of remonstrances, enlisted as Minute Men, viz: Simon Schneider, son of Henry Schneider, who is apprenticed to Heckedorn; and one of Mr. Hoff's sons, who is apprenticed to William Lanius."

September 12, 1775.

"We have enjoyed rest during these troublesome times, yielding ourselves to the gracious care and protection of our loving Father. In October a new Committee will be appointed, and it is said that only men who are orthodox as regards military affairs will be selected. Heckedorn has been nominated for the position of County Assessor."

January 15, 1776.

"Notwithstanding the approaching troubles and dangers, and the expectation of things to come, we are at peace with all our fellow beings. Now it is reported, that drilling in military tactics will be carried on more thoroughly than ever before. We are glad that, according to the decrees of Congress and the Provincial Board, none of our people are to be compelled to do anything contrary to heart, conscience and opinions. But the taxes levied will become quite burdensome, considering the present state of our finances and the poor condition of business of every kind."

July 17, 1776.

"Yorktown seems quite deserted on account of the departure of all men under fifty years of age. Our young men had to leave for the army in Jersey. Christian Heckedorn and William Lanius, have after a great deal of trouble, succeeded in preventing themselves from being taken along, on account of their sickness. Jacob Rothrock has also escaped being drafted.

But Ernst Schlosser, the three sons of Rothrock, Brinkman, John Seifer's eldest son, John Hoenrison, and, in short the most of the others who are under fifty years of age, will have to march off in the next few days. Thus only the old brethren and the sisters will be left. Several of our people, because the town has been so emptied, have in addition to several other persons, been elected as members of the Committee *ad interim*, with a guard given them day and night, in order to maintain peace and order, and give security against the plots of the Tories. All business and every occupation are prostrate, all shops are closed. How many prayers and tears will now be brought before the Lord, by parents, for their children, by children for their parents, by wives for their husbands!"

September 4, 1776.

"Our town has not remained exempt from the prevailing unrest of the land. None of our Communicant Brethren have been compelled to enter the war, and those who were married and had gone to Jersey, have again returned in the first part of the week to their respective homes. The young single men of our Society, of whom there are about ten absent, have been drawn into the Flying Camp."

1775.

June 5. To-day prayers were publicly offered up in behalf of the American Colonies.

July 1. This afternoon a company of 100 men, of this town left for the American army in New England, with the ringing of bells, after a sermon had been preached to them by the Presbyterian minister on the text I Samuel 10.12v., in which they were exhorted to keep God before their eyes during their expedition, and then they could be assured of His protection and guidance; otherwise this would not be the case.

July 19. A company of Virginia troops arrived here, on their march to join the American army. We viewed them with pity, and were especially affected by the sight of the motto "Liberty or death," which their commander bore on his breast.

July 20. By special order of Congress this was a Fast and day of Prayer, and our services were numerously attended. The Virginia company left town today for the army.

August 3. The last company of Virginia troops marched through the town for the American camp. They were commanded by Capt. Erisson.

August 10. To-day the town was quite noisy, owing to the assembling of the militia companies from the various townships.

September 1. We were impelled to bring before the throne of God in prayer, in our service, the lamentable condition of our brethren at New York and New Port in addition to the critical condition of the Colonies.

October 1. In the congregation service, we gave the brethren some advice as to how they should conduct themselves in these critical times, for tomorrow an election is to be held.

1778.

January 19. This afternoon Gen. Horatio Gates, who has been appointed President of the Council of War, arrived in town and was received with demonstrations of joy.

January 20. I visited Ernst Schlosser, who is recovering from his sickness; also John Fishel, senr. who is sickly owing to his old age, and found both much incommoded by soldiers quartered on them.

January 30. John Hoenrisen arrived in good health after serving with the militia in Philadelphia and Chester Counties. He left here December 15th last. Gen. Lafayette arrived from Lancaster.

February 12. The houses of Heller and John Fisholz are used for hospital purposes.

February 18. Balls have now begun to be in this town, which has called forth the remonstrances of the clergy and inhabitants. They are frequented by officers of the army and even members of Congress, besides many improper persons.

March 19. Throughout the entire night the soldiers kept a strict guard, because a plot on the part of the Tories and Howe's light cavalry to capture members of Congress, had been discovered. One man who was acquainted with the details and is suspected of being in the plot was arrested.

March 20. I wrote, after I had consulted the French Secretary, as to the whereabouts of Gen. de Fermoy, to Oberlin at Bethlehem and gave my letters into the care of Joseph Dean, who has finished his business with the Board of War.

March 21. At Beroth's house a number of soldiers are quartered.

March 23. I was visited by the French Col. Armand who offered to deliver letters for me in Bethlehem.

March 25. Towards evening, while I was absent, a Surgeon from the Hospital and two officers, called and presented an order of the Board of War, which authorized them to look for a house, which would be suitable for the accommodation of sick soldiers. They believed that our "gemeinhaus" would answer the purpose, but this Sister Neisser opposed.

March 29. Philip Rothrock gave me information with regard to several political occurrences and the discovery of a plot against this town by the Tories. Christopher Ludwig, the Baker General of the Army, is in town.

April 4. I visited John Rothrock, who I found sick, so his father daily attends to the printing of Continental bills.

April 9. Virginia troops arrived at camp here.

April 10. Gen. Charles Lee arrived here yesterday on parole.

April 14. Four hundred Virginia troops arrived here on their march to camp.

April 18. This evening I was visited by William Henry of Lancaster, who brought letters from Bethlehem and a commission for Paymaster Gibson.

April 22. Fast and Prayer Day. William Henry visited me early this morning and reported that it had been proposed to use our "gemeinhaus" for the drawing of the State Lottery; that he declared the building unsuitable and the intention was abandoned. The same was proposed as to the Lutheran and Reformed churches, but on opposition abandoned. The Court House and adjoining buildings were finally selected. Henry has been appointed Armourer of the State.

April 24. To-day Lord North's speech of February 19th, before the House of Commons, with addition of Notes by the Committee of Congress, and the drafts of two bills pertaining to American affairs, appeared in Hall and Seller's Gazette, published in this town.

April 27. Mr. Cist informed me that on March 15th, France had declared war against England.

April 30. To-day quite a number of Southern troops marched through the town to reinforce Gen. Washington.

May 1. Adam Orth and Christopher Kucher arrived from Lebanon with a letter from Rev. P. C. Bader to the Board of War, requesting that measures be taken for his relief, since Major Watkins had converted the "Gemeinhaus" into a Powder Magazine on April 29th. I advised them to draw up their petition in the form of a memorial in the name of their congregation and to call and see me in the morning. [Bader's letter states: "You will pardon the liberty I take in addressing you in regard to the present position of myself

and family. Without doubt you have heard, that for over half a year, my parsonage has been filled with Hessian prisoners, to the great inconvenience of my family. I was also prevented from attending to the duties of my office in my congregation. Yesterday afternoon (April 29th) Major Watkins came to my house with five men and a wagon load of powder, broke open my door with force and put the powder in my room. To-day he came again, and advised me to leave the house, as he intended to fill it with powder. You can easily understand, gentlemen, that this causes my family and myself great uneasiness. Where can I go? I have no other house or my congregation either. Shall I leave the people who are entrusted to my care? The injustice of it appeals to Heaven! My house looks more like a ruin than a well regulated "Pfarrhaus;" the damage arising from the Hessians being so long here, has not been repaired. I cannot remain in my house for fear of my life. My sorrow bears me down concerning my congregation. Can you not, gentlemen, feel compassion for me and my congregation, and free us from the burden under which we rest? I often pray that our present situation may soon come to an end."

Bader has recorded the following incident under date of February 4, 1778: "To-day a rifleman and a corporal from Ansbach visited me. They related that Gen. Howe had recently written a letter to Gen. Washington, containing merely a transcript of the Seventh Chapter of the Prophet Ezekiel, and that Washington had replied by an epistle embodying the fourth chapter of the Book of Baruch."]

May 2. I accompanied the brethren from Lebanon to Mr. Morris, by whom the petition was prepared in the form of a memorial to the Board of War. In the afternoon it was handed to Gen. Gates, who is president. Mr. Silas Deane, who has just arrived after a passage of thirty-two days from France, called on me. He has

news for Congress concerning the treaties made with the French Government, which are to be ratified by Congress. Henry Miller arrived this evening from Bethlehem. He handed me letters from Fries, Matthew Weiss and my brother Augustine, who writes in detail of the terrible condition of affairs in the vicinity of Philadelphia.

May 4. Orth and Kucher to-day received a reply to their memorial, to the effect, that pastor Bader should by all means remain and that the powder should be replaced by other stores.

May 5. I learned from Mr. Young, clerk to the Board of War, that the articles of alliance between France and the United States had yesterday been ratified by Congress. A supplement of the Gazette, gives an account of the important news, concerning the relations between France and the United States, as brought by Silas Deane, and also the most important articles of the Alliance.

May 6. I was visited by Ranke, who asked my advice as to what he should do now that he was required to take another oath of allegiance. I replied, what his conscience told him and what the condition of the times would warrant. In the evening the entire city, as the capital of the American States, expressed its joy at the Alliance concluded between the States and Louis XVI of France, by illuminations.

May 7. I visited the family of Fishel's Senr., who are on pleasant terms with the member of Congress who lodges with them.

May 11. John Ettwein and H. Klein arrived here from Bethlehem, for the purpose of negotiating with Congress concerning the Test Act. He expects to present to that body a petition asking that a portion of the Articles of the Act be made less stringent. Ettwein visited the President of Congress, Henry Laurens, Esq.

May 15. Orth and Kucher from Lebanon, arrived

and again presented a memorial to the Board of War, to the effect that the order given on May 4, had not been obeyed. They were given the following order:

"Major Watkins is directed to permit Mr. Bader to remain until Col. Flowers examines into the matter. The Board does not wish to distress any person. Therefore it is presumed the officers at Lebanon will conduct themselves so as to make everything as convenient as possible for the inhabitants, still keeping in view that private advantage must yield to the public service.

By order of

Richard Peters

War Office, May 15, 1778.

Mr. Reeves, a gentleman who fled from Philadelphia with his large family, to-day moved into a part of Beroth's house.

May 16. Ettwein received a friendly letter from Henry Laurens, President of Congress, and has determined to set out for home to-morrow.

[Of his visit to Yorktown and his interview with members of Congress, Ettwein has left the following record:

May 11. I came to Yorktown. The appeal to the people by Congress, and the ratified treaty with France, were the topics of discussion everywhere. I called on President Laurens, told him of my errand, showed him the memorials and begged him to correct the one for Congress. He said it was unnecessary, that I should hand in both as they were; that it was our duty to make representations, whether with or without results. He promised to speak with some members of Congress about the matter, and named those I should interview privately. On May 12, I called on six members, and only McKean, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, was unfriendly, and said that he would vote against our memorial. Gouveneur Morris brought our memorial before Congress and spoke strongly in its favor; so did several

others. Mr. Duane remarked: "I believe the Moravians are good subjects, but they will have nothing to do with putting down old governments and setting up new ones." He then asked me whether this was not so, to which I replied "Yes." He then offered to get our Church a tract of land five or six miles square, within forty miles of Boston, with an Act of the State similar to the Act of Parliament of 1749, if we would make a settlement there. I thanked him, but said that this was not the time to think of such a proposition. The Eastern States demand the test of abjuration, only from such as hold public office. President Laurens said: "Should the Moravians be expelled, I shall let everything lie and go with them." A committee was appointed to consider the memorial. Mr. Laurens on the 14th, showed me the committee's report in confidence. Its tenor was that we were yet to enjoy all our privileges, but that Congress could not make any special recommendation to the Assembly. Mr. Laurens told me that he was not satisfied with the report; blamed McKean for it, and said it should be recommitted. After waiting a few days, I received in calling on the President the following letter:

Yorktown, Saturday, 16th May, 1778

Reverend Sir

Congress has been so closely engaged in affairs of great importance, requiring immediate attention, as to exclude hitherto the consideration of your memorial, nor do I believe there will be any opening for bringing it forward even on Monday next, although as I judge from private conversation there are many gentlemen heartily disposed to grant your requests, the whole house may be so for aught I know. As you have waited so many days without effect, you will probably save time by proceeding in your intended application to the State Assembly at Lancaster.

Be assured, sir, I will lay your papers before Congress at the first opportunity for taking them into consideration, and as speedily as the case will admit of, you shall be informed at Lancaster or Bethlehem of such determination as shall be had thereon.

From an opinion that the granting your requests will be equally consistent with sound policy and Christian charity, I cannot do less than wish very earnestly that you may be dismissed from Lancaster with an answer which will give joy and satisfaction to the Brethren and eventually produce much benefit to these United States.

I am Rev'd sir with great affection and respect, your friend and humble servant,

Henry Laurens.

As he gave me permission by word of mouth to make use of his note, I understood his object, and thanked him for his friendly treatment, and prepared for my journey to Lancaster."

May 18. Counterfeiters of Congress gold currency were brought here for trial.

May 20. Henry Miller translated the address of Congress to the States into German, in order that it may be read to the congregation, as ordered by Congress.

May 22. A battalion of artillery from North Carolina arrived here, and continued their march for Gen. Washington's army.

May 24. At the close of the morning service I read the address of Congress, in German, to the congregation.

May 27. A man was hung to-day in the presence of a large crowd of people. School children who had witnessed it from a distance, were warned to shun all evil doing. In the Lancaster paper we read that the petition of the Brethren of Bethlehem to the Assembly, had not been granted.

May 28. Michael Hillegas, Treasurer of the United States, called to see me, and we had a pleasant discourse on the fundamental truths of the Christian religion.

May 29. The city was filled with great joy at the report that the British had evacuated Philadelphia.

June 1. Mr. Snowden and Claypoole made me a visit and told me they would set out for Philadelphia as soon as reliable information was received that the city was evacuated.

June 2. I wrote to my brother Augustine, and gave the letter in charge of Mr. Claypoole, who told me of the sad fate of his son in the army.

June 3. We opened a slaughter house for the convenience of the troops stationed here, having been compelled to do so, or our "gemeinhaus" would have been used. Mr. Cist during his visit to-day, reported that some Tories had called upon Gen. Washington to seek for pardon and that he had sent them to the Council.

June 12. I was invited to attend the funeral of Mr. Philip Livingston, a Delegate to Congress from the State of New York, with the other clergymen stationed here. Mr. Duffield, the Presbyterian Chaplain of Congress delivered an address at the grave. After the service I became acquainted with Rev. William Rogers, Chaplain of the Continental Army, who had letters for me.

June 13. Chaplain Rogers, who is a Baptist, and intimately acquainted with C. L. Reussmeyer, visited me and was shown through our meeting-hall.

June 15. I received a letter from Matthew Hehl, containing the news that the "gemeinhauss" in Lebanon had been cleared of the war materials at last.

June 16. I was requested to conduct the funeral services of the wife of a soldier, at the house of Sr. Hoenrisen. I made an English address at the grave, taking as my text the words of Paul in II Cor. v 15. Visited

Riehls and Mr. Morris'—at the latter's house John Rays F. R. S. delivered a physico-theological discourse.

June 17. A portion of Col. Hartley's battalion left town for General Washington's camp, having in charge a number of English prisoners.

June 18. John Hancock, elected a member of Congress from Massachusetts Bay, arrived to-day.

Early to-day we heard that the British had evacuated Philadelphia, and that they had given vent to their rage and malevolence, by cruelly treating the American prisoners. The daily text I Cor. x.13. came to us with special power, considering the event which has happened in Philadelphia, and the deliverance of this State from the yoke of the British King.

June 19. Mr. Snowden brought us the good news that the British had left Philadelphia. Nicholas Garrison, from Reading, on business with the Board of War, also confirmed the news.

June 23. Families who had fled from Philadelphia, to-day began to return.

June 24. The remainder of Col. Hartley's battalion is to leave to-morrow; the militia guard, to which several of our brethren are attached, has been ordered out. William Lanius and Christian Heckedorn are at their posts again.

June 25. The remainder of Col. Hartley's battalion began its march to the main army. Major Young, a clerk of the Board of War, with whom I had become acquainted, left to-day for Philadelphia. He had lodged at the house of Gump.

June 26. Mr. Billmeyer told me that Mr. Richard Hudson, a delegate to Congress from North Carolina, intends to return to Philadelphia by the way of Bethlehem, and will take letters for my friends. I at once wrote to both places.

June 27. A number of Congressmen left for Phila-

delphia, in order to take part in anniversary celebration of the Declaration of Independence in that city.

June 28. More members of Congress and many persons who had within the past year fled from Philadelphia, left today for that city.

June 29. Mr. Claypoole, left for Philadelphia in charge of the Dunlap printing establishment.

Refugees fleeing from the border where the Tories and Indians are committing depredations, passed through our town on the way to Maryland. We heard of a conflict between our soldiers and the British which took place a few days ago. I wrote to my brother Augustine and handed the letter to William Lanius to deliver since he is to form part of the guard which is to escort Congress to Philadelphia. More people who fled to this town and vicinity continue to return to their homes.

June 30. William Lanius left for Philadelphia.

July 1. The text for this day Psalms LXVI, 8, incited us to praise God, when we considered all his goodness in the latter half of this year of trouble; in hearing our prayers, that we see Philadelphia once more freed of the British.

July 4. The anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated here in a very joyful manner.

July 7. The troops which arrived here yesterday on their way to Pittsburgh, and encamped over night, continued their march to-day after drawing rations.

July 12. To-day we heard that a French fleet had arrived at the mouth of the Delaware and would proceed to New York.

July 19. To-day we offered up prayers for the needy fugitives from the border, many of whom have passed through our town during the past week, and were indeed objects of pity.

July 20. Christian Heckedorn with others of his

company, start for Philadelphia tomorrow, as a guard to protect the Continental wagons of Treasurer Michael Hillegas.

July 21. A traitor by the name of Le Feber, a Mennonite, was arrested on the accusation of a British deserter, that he had persuaded 40 men of Gen. Howe's army to join the Tories and Indians to plunder the people living on the borders.

July 29. Yesterday and today Quarter Sessions Court was held, and several members of the congregation served as jurymen.

August 18. Today a portion of the militia of York township, in whose ranks are Henry Hoff, as substitute for Michael Fichols, and Keller left for the border lands, where they are to protect the inhabitants from the violence of the Indians and Tories.

October 2. During the past few days, many British prisoners marched through our town, on their way from Virginia to General Clinton's army to be exchanged.

October 15. Henry Hoff returned today in good health from Standing Stone, but his appearance was rather a wild one.

December 16. Tonight a part of the Convention troops arrived here from New England on their way to Virginia.

December 22. The Convention troops which arrived here on the 16th and 19th inst. left for the South.

December 24. Numbers of Convention troops are deserting on account of their being badly treated by their officers. Some of them attended our services and were attentive and earnest.

1782

January 8. For the past two days the prisoners of Lord Cornwallis' army have been passing through our town.

February 4. Upwards of 1500 prisoners belonging

to Cornwallis' army, under guard from Maryland, passed through our town to the camp located in Hellam township.

July 31. Today an infamous plot of the British prisoners was discovered, in which they determined to burn Yorktown and Lancaster in one night.

August 1. We had a very disturbed night owing to a set of rascals who swarmed around our house, intent on doing evil deeds. These wicked persons are becoming very offensive. The British officers who are here as prisoners, and their servants, spread their demoralizing principles, and they affect the young people like a pestilence walking abroad.

August 8. A letter received from Bethlehem states: Last Thursday (July 25) we had an unexpected visitor in Gen. Washington. We showed him all possible respect. He appeared to be so natural and social, that I scarcely know whether *he* or *we* had the more enjoyment and pleasure. Ettwein next day accompanied him to our town Hope, in the Jerseys, where he dined.

October 14. I visited Mr. Morris, who can scarcely find words to express his indignation at the insolence of the British officers. He said that the people, and even those of Tory feelings, who have taken them as boarders or lodgers can scarcely bear it.

October 22. Mr. Deutch, the Lutheran school-master complained to me of the conduct of the British officers here.

November 13. We heard that at Crice Creek, Col. Morgan who was assaulted by British deserters, who had entered the Continental army, had died of his injuries.

December 29. More Cornwallis prisoners arrived, escorted by Continental Dragoons. Owing to the bad condition of the barracks, the Dragoons were quartered in the houses of our citizens, which created much inconvenience. Some of my members furnished quarters for a number.

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JUDGE RICHARD PETERS OF BELMONT.

[Originals in the Manuscript Division of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

Rev. Dr. William Smith offers to preach a Series of Sermons.

Philadelph 17 Decr 93

The committee waited upon the Revd Dr Wm Smith on the Subject of his Letter to The Rt. Revd Dr. White respecting his Offer to preach his Course of Sermons & performing a proportion of the Parochial duty when it was explicitly declared to Dr. Smith that the Vestry kindly Accepted of his Services; but they were sorry to inform him that it was not in their power to give him any expectation whatever of a Compensation owing to the State of their Funds, when he declared that he had no expectation of any Emolument and would chearfully perform his part of the duties as should be agreed upon between him the Rector & Dr. Blackwell and at the expiration of the time if the Vestry should approve of the Services he may have rendered & should shew their regard by Voting the Value of a tea cup it would be fully Satisfactory

George Washington to Richard Peters.

Philadelphia 21st. Jan: 1797.

Dear Sir,

I have received with much pleasure, your agricultural enquiries on Plaister of Paris;—and thank you for the honor of, and the affectionate sentiments contained in, the Dedication

I shall be obliged by your furnishing me with two or three more copies of them, one of which I will send by

the first opportunity to my correspondent, and zealous supporter of agriculture—Sir John Sinclair.—

With sentiments of very great esteem & regard

I am—Dear Sir

Your much obliged,

and Affect^{e}. Serv

G^{o}: Washington

George Washington to Richard Peters.

Mount Vernon 26th June 1797

Dear Sir,

Until last week, I had no suspicion that the Hessian fly was among my wheat; but upon examination I found there were many.—They have come too late, *this year*, however, to do me much damage; but as I view them as the harbingers of those who will visit me next year, I would guard, as far as it may be in my power, against the threatned evil.—

Permit me therefore to ask, if from your own experience, or from that of others on whom you can rely it is ascertained whether Rye or Barley (winter or Summer) is liable to this calamity? In the country above me, the Wheat, I am informed, is entirely destroyed (in places) by this fly; and from the appearances of them among mine, It is but too probable it would be the case with me next year, if I do not substitute other grain in its place. But What grain is the important question.—Are Oats affected by these flies.

Where this calamity has not visited the Wheat, the grain is remarkably fine, and the quantity not to be complained of.—Present me, if you please, in respectful terms to M^{rs}. Peters, and add thereto the compliments of M^{rs}. Washington.—With great esteem & regard

I am Dear Sir

Your affect^{e}. Hb^{le} Serv^{t}

G^{o}: Washington

P. S.

Is there any truth in the observation that the yellow bearded Wheat will resist the injury which the common wheat sustains from the above named fly?—

Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters.

Trenton Aug^{t}. 28. 1798.

Dear Sir,

Last evening I received your favour of the 24th. and was happy to learn that you and your family were well. In mine no one complains, except my wife with her standing affliction the tooth-ache, which also excites a pain in one side of her head.

We have most gloomy accounts from the city, which a letter of yesterday from M^{r}. Hodgdon confirmed: but is it possible that 99 died the preceeding 48 hours?— Just as my family were leaving the city, I received a note from Nancy Cunningham, requesting a room in my house, to which she & her mother could remove from Union Street: I cheerfully consented; and now Nancy is dead. I presume she took the fever before they removed from Union Street.

M^{r}. Rawle has written me about the secret projects of the United Irishmen: I now send him an answer, & put this under cover to him, as he is at the falls of Schuylkill, and you have stopped communication with the city. It will perhaps be useful for you to see him, as both of you have at the same time had your attention excited by the same discontented characters which infest our country.

Gerry in Paris May 28, wrote to M^{r}. King; yet said not a word about leaving that country: altho' he wrote me May 13th acknowledging the receipt of the instructions of March 23^{d}. which he said he should duly observe: these required him (for they were addressed to all three of the Envoys) to demand his passport and quit France: for not one of the cases stated in the in-

structions, which would have authorized his staying there, existed. But in the close of his letter to me, he said that in two or three days he hoped to obtain the "ultimate views of the French Government toward the U. S. *which Talleyrand had promised him in writing;*" and I suppose he had been promising daily, up to the time when Gerry wrote to M^r^. King. He also said in his letter to me, that he should embark in the Sophia, which carried out his instructions. But I shall not be much disappointed, if he stays in Paris until his second instructions reach him, requiring him *peremptorily* to leave France. These last instructions were dated the 25th of June and sent by various routes. He will feel the reproaches plainly, tho' with as much caution as possible, expressed in these second instructions—unless he should have lost all discernment and all sense of personal honor and respect.

M^r^. Pinckney wrote M^r^. King from Lyons, on the 26th of May, where he had till then been detained by his daughter's illness: but she was better.

A Boston paper (the fulsome Centinel) has three times mentioned Gen^l^. Knox as the *first* Major General, to command Pinckney & Hamilton; [and this arrangement (inter nos) would meet the ideas of a certain Great Man:] but neither General Washington nor the public Voice have looked for this arrangement, these have placed them in the order in which they were nominated—H. P. K. What do you think of the matter? To my surprize Knox has strongly manifested his disinclination to serve *under* Hamilton!

I am very affectionately yours
T. Pickering.

Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters.

City of Washington Oct. 28. 1803.

I regretted, my dear Sir, that I was unable to pass a day with you at Belmont, on my way hither. If you had

lived within three miles of Gray's ferry I should have spent an evening with you. The tavern being full, I took the liberty of going, with a fellow traveller who is a botanist, to M^r^. Hamilton's place, where we lodged, and where I had an opportunity of making some enquiries concerning your family. I promise myself the pleasure of seeing them, on the rising of Congress, which some suggest will be much sooner than usual; while others say that our *economists* will not be anxious, as it respects themselves, to husband the time or money of the public.

In the treaty of cession (as 'tis called) of Louisiana, you will see the flimsy nature of the title we have acquired, and in the stipulation of the third article, an exercise of power to which the President and Senate were not competent. I have not heard of one intelligent democrat who pretends that the stipulation can be performed without an amendment of the Constitution. And this, it strikes me, cannot be made in the ordinary mode of amending; but that each individual State comprehended in the boundaries of the original association must give its assent: it being for the admission of a *new partner* into the company. For if a new member of small power may be so admitted, then may a large one—so large as to destroy totally the existing balance of power—even to transfer the seat of government and the sovereign power to the new associate.

These difficulties, however, present to our rulers and their followers, no impediments to the execution of the treaties, in respect to the taking possession of the new territory, and paying the money stipulated in the two conventions. Any violations of the Constitution are conceded in their constant & zealous professions of their devoted attachment to it; and if they do transgress, they rely (as one leader avowed his readiness to do) on the approbation of the people, and explicit justification, by their amending the constitution.

But admitting the acquired title were complete, how could we part with any portion of Louisiana, to a foreign power (to Spain, for instance, in exchange for the floridas) seeing we stipulate, in the 3rd article of the treaty, to incorporate it into the Union?

It is now publicly talked of, that Spain remonstrates against the cession by the French Republic, and our taking possession. I am not now at liberty to be Explicit on this Subject. But why is the president to be vested with authority to employ the army, the navy, & 80,000 militia, if needed, in this business? You will form your own conclusions. This negociation, so pacific, which was to ensure us peace for ages, has laid the foundation of war, and I apprehend, a war not remote.

Adieu!

T. Pickering

My love to your family.

Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters.

City of Washington, Decr. 24. 1803

My dear friend,

Altho' the end of all our revolutionary labours and expectations is disappointment—and our fond hopes of republican happiness are vanity—and the real patriots of '76 are overwhelmed by the modern pretenders to that character: I will not yet despair. I will rather anticipate a *new confederacy,* exempt from the corrupt and corrupting influence & oppression of the *aristocratic democrats* of the South. There will be (and *our* children, at farthest, will see it) a separation. The white and black population will mark the boundary. The British provinces, even with the assent of Britain, will become members of the *Northern Confederacy.* A continued tyranny of the present ruling sect will precipitate that event. The patience of good citizens is now nearly exhausted. By open violations, and pretended

amendments, they are shattering our political *bark,* which with a few more similar *repairs* must *founder.* Efforts however, & laudable ones, are, and will continue to be made, to keep the timbers together. The most distinguished you will find in the speech of M^r^. Tracy, which I inclose. He has exhibited the excellency of the constitution, as it now prescribes the mode of electing the president & vice-president; & pointed out the pernicious tendency of the proposed amendment. John Taylor of Virginia, the Goliath of the party in this question, attempted to support the amendment, but the ground was untenable; and his speech can do neither him nor the cause any honour.

Our humble Republicans are in a *hobble* with the British minister & his lady, on a point of *ettiquette.* You know the chaste, the dignified manners of Washington. Without a condescension that might degrade, or pride which, arrogating too much, might disgust, he treated foreign ministers & their ladies, as respectable strangers, entitled to the first distinction. Our present modest rulers have reversed all this—(they take a malignant pleasure in overturning whatever bears the stamp of Washington)—and given precedency to their own ladies: M^rs^. Madison first—then M^rs^. Gallatin—have been led from the drawing-room to the dining table—and after them M^rs^. Merry. This repeated, showing a premeditated plan, has determined the latter to refuse all invitations to dine.—I did not know of this fracas at the time that, falling in with M^r^. Madison, he asked of me information of *former usages.* To be sure, I was the most unlucky person in the World, to be applied to as *judge of appeals* on a subject of etiquette: however, I remembered enough to tell the *fact:* prefacing it with—"You know, Sir, that General Washington was remarkable for his correctness in all such cases."

M^r^. Madison affected to treat matters of ettiquette as

trifles, and undeserving of the attention of men of sense. Why then have the president & his ministers, enlightened above all their predecessors, made of *this trifle a concerted, serious plan,* to the necessary disgust of a respectable foreign minister & his lady, who ground their claims on the twelve years usage of the former administrations?

I did, indeed, go on; and told Mr. Madison, that President Adams, when he came to the chair, proposed to give precedency to the wives of his own ministers—the heads of departments: but I entreated him not to do it; on the contrary, to adhere to the established usage of President Washington: and I prevailed.—I remember Mr. Adam's remark on the occasion, why our own ministers & their ladies should take precedency of the foreign: "If we do not respect ourselves, we shall not be respected by others." But, as was said by Epimanondas, when his fellow citizens imposed on him the office of scavenger—or at best, of overseer of the highways—it is the man who does honour to the office—not the office to the man. Let Washington and Adams be contrasted.

I have since been informed, that our rulers are now seeking shelter in the information derived from my colleague, J. Q. Adams, of the practice in the European Courts. And Mr. Madison at the time before mentioned, when, in answer to his inquiry, I told him what was the usage established by Washington—asked me—"Do you think that at London Mr. Pitt (if he had had a wife) or Lord Grenville, would have given to Mrs. King the precedency of their own ladies?"

The truth is, that Democratic Rulers are the proudest men on earth. Their name & professions forbid the assumption of lofty titles of nobility; and therefore they affect to despise them; and depressing that rank below that of *Citizen,* aim at real superiour elevation.

Pray present my kindest remembrance to M^rs. Peters and your children.

Very sincerely yours
Timothy Pickering.

P. S. It is mentioned as an indubitable fact, that M^r. Jefferson gave the first audience to the British minister (which could not have taken place but by appointment) in his slippers, & an undress! just as he receives his democratic scullions, whom he is ready, at all hours, to admit to his presence.

Aaron Burr to Richard Peters.

M^r Burr's respectful Compliments—He sends for the amusement of Judge Peters "The report of the Committee of the "H. of R appointed to enquire into the official conduct of "Samuel Chase and Richard Peters" The Book being a Volume of about 200 pages, is now in the hands of M^r Lewis & M^r Dallas, subject to Judge Peters' orders—

M^r B. is on his way to Nyork and will leave town this day

Phil^a. 15 Mar.
1804

Gen'l. James Wilkinson to Richard Peters.

Carlisle Sept. 27^th 04

Dear Sir

Yesterday was a Day of suffering & Peril to us—you left us on the Mountain Road, which jolted us almost to Death, descending a damned ugly craggy stumpy part of it, engaged Eyes, Hands & feet, I heard a shreik behind me & turning about, I beheld the carriage with out a driver & the Horses darting after me at half speed—I wish I may be as collected in fight—I saw the danger thought all was lost & determined to share the wreck, jumpt from my Seat met the Horses immediately opposite the pole, fortunately grasped their check reins

& stopt them, my lowlived *'Irishman (curse all such) was soon up, & then I had to give chace—"ventrie a terre" to my little Sorrels who had proceeded on at a gentle jog, and I found this a sad part of the Business, for it was truly a hopeless stern chace, but providence, kind sweet providence, had determined not to favor me by halves, & in the moment that my feet & legs were to be crushed, by the Ponderous Mass which they had carried, with some velocity, more than sixteen furlongs, my horses stopt & I resumed my seat, after leaning breathless over the foot board for fifteen minutes, during which I had time to thank God for our miraculous escape—We arrived half after 3 oc: Mrs. Wilkinson extremely indisposed & myself strained from throat to Heel—We are better this Morning but shall not proceed until tomorrow, and I drop you this line by Command of my Mistress, with a view to caution you & yours against the Mountain Road—I was about to tell you a story about the President. Grujo & Majr Jackson, but have laid my hands on the thing itself—which will be enclosed or transmited by the sweet little Walsh.—who improves on Acquaintance we invoke Heaven for Mrs. Willings speedy & radical cure—we embrace little Thomas, the dear Cherub, and send our best wishes with our best respects to your lady yourself & the young Gentlemen—

with respectful consideration & esteem
I am Dear Sir

Your Obde
JaWilkinson

Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters.

City of Washington March 24. 1806.

My dear sir,

Your letter of the 20th is received. The preceding one led me to hope that Sally's health was so far re-

* He had I believe fallen asleep, fell from his Seat, & the hind wheel ran over Him without damage.

stored as to relieve you from anxiety on her account. I feel how necessary such a daughter, & now your sole constant companion, must be to the repose & tranquil enjoyment of the remainder of your life; and I pray God she may perfectly recover, and live long to make you happy.

I am satisfied that you need apprehend nothing for Ralph, in consequence of his capture by the British. With such a cargo it seems impossible that he can suffer any detention. The late news too is, that the British have been releasing American vessels. This probably has arisen from the disastrous issue of the Continental coalition—and a conviction that a great number of ship-owners have been taken by surprise; and therefore, at least, treated unjustly. If we had a President who possessed a practical knowledge of his duty, and honesty and firmness to perform it, all our difficulties with G. Britain respecting our *neutral commerce* would either have been prevented or removed. I expect nothing from Monroe's talents. If M^r^. Jefferson were really desirous of negotiating a fair & equal treaty with G. B. he would send a minister competent to the task. Monroe is to tease by his letters and remonstrances; and, if possible, obtain from G. B. a renunciation of those principles which M^r^. Jefferson calls "interpolation" in the law of nations; and an abandonment of her right to take her own subjects who as seamen are found navigating the ships of the U. States: *but not to make a treaty.* Such is my *belief.* My language is indeed peremptory: but I mean you should understand it as expressing no more than my *firm belief.* Yet if Monroe should not succeed, & I do not expect that he will succeed, we shall be told that G. Britain refuses to treat, on any terms compatible with the interests of the U. States. I do not even believe that M^r^. Jefferson wishes to have the ablest men employed at foreign courts. He is vain of his own diplomatic

skill; and thinks his instructions sufficient to illuminate a common man, and pour conviction on the ministers of those courts. Long ago I entertained this opinion. I *knew* that he draughted instructions with his own hand; and with a vain confidence of their efficacy; and particularly to Monroe. And Randolph has lately told us, that the President has "no Cabinet." And a friend of his, of the Senate, lately said that "he was very obstinate." But he has views and passions to gratify, *all* of which his devoted friends do not comprehend. A little while since, he nominated John B. C. Lucas (or whatever be the *prenomens*—Lucas I mean who persecuted Judge Addison) to be a judge of the Louisiana territory. Before this, he had received an Executive appointment, and had gone and officiated in the territory: but now there were complaints of a serious nature against him; all which the President well knew: yet he would not withdraw the nomination; but wished the Senate to negative it! So said some of his particular friends, by the fire side. However, a competent number of his men not having been timely informed, the nomination was approved by a majority of *one vote.* I give you this merely as a sample of the little, wretched, contemptible principles which govern this man's administration of the government.

But I have rambled entirely from the point on which I intended to make an observation. When I began the subject of politics, Jefferson was not in my thoughts: I wish there could be no future occasion for him to enter there: for whatever he might have been in better times, I view him now as one of the worst men who ever directed the affairs of a free country; and who has done more to corrupt and debase this, than all other causes from the commencement of our revolution.

But to my point. "You are so *impartial,* as to the great Cormorants of the Land and Sea, that you abominate both of them."—I know that right & justice have

too little influence in the conduct of nations. You know, as every one who has been a member in any national assembly knows, how many important questions are decided against the convictions of a majority of what justice and the public good require. And the wise man says, *when he saw oppression under the sun*—"I looked, and lo, on the side of the oppressor there was *power.*" Nevertheless, there are degrees in violence, and injustice: and were I a Swede, or a Dane, I would prefer a submission of my cause, rather, by many degrees, to an English than a French decision; and quite as soon as to that of the enlightened government of my own dear country.

I do indeed view Britain as a *shield,* the *only shield,* to protect *us,* as well as herself from the deadly shafts of the Conqueror and Arbiter of the Continental States of Europe; among whom, Russia alone retains her independance. England can annoy, and if she please, destroy our commerce: but she cannot touch our independence. But if France prevail, Britain first becomes one of her provinces, and we next. Our country as well as our commerce, would be at her disposal. France has a most fond attachment to her ancient possessions. It was purely and simply (if we take her word for it) from this parental fondness, that she desired to repossess Louisiana, when she compelled her vassal Spain to retrocede it.—In the event above supposed, her bowels would yearn towards her dear, her first born American Children, Canada & Nova Scotia. Next she would extend her arms once more to Louisiana; exciting the Spaniard to *pick a quarrel* with the U. S. in which France of course, *we know,* would make common cause: and the war once begun, all the country east of the Missisipi, as far as the Allegany Mountain, would again become what it was a century ago, a part of Louisiana. This claim on our backs, you know, began the seven years war.—This claim was revived at the peace of

Paris in 1783; and if Mr. Jay had been as complaisant as Dr. Franklin, would have been acquiesced in.

Such, in my view, is the fate which awaits us, if the *shield* of Britain be pierced through, and struck from her arm, by the sword of France. Once more then I say (what in the lapse of more than thirty years I have not said) God save the King! God save his people from the crushing weight of Napoleon's iron crown! For in their safety our own is inseparably involved. Nor is it selfishness alone which draws from me these ejaculations. Corrupt as the world is, where shall we find so fair a portion of the human race? Were we, the "enlightened & virtuous" people of the U. States, possessed of the like predominant power at sea, should we, think you, act a whit better? My dear friend, I have seen, this present session, such a prostration of all principle as left no room for charity.—Moreover, I always see in England the country of my ancestors, who there imbibed the most correct notions of civil liberty, and brought them here. From England we have derived our most valuable institutions. In England liberty finds her purest asylum. Should our, in the mad career of democracy, be extinguished,—by a touch from England it may be rekindled. Where are to be found so many monuments of the noblest and most useful virtues, as in England?—From my soul I say, "England, with all thy faults, I love thee still— —and, while yet a nook is left, where English minds and manners may be found, shall be constrained to love thee."

The declaration of Independence so much celebrated as the work of Jefferson (in which however he has but a share of merit) contains one excellent sentiment, but which neither he nor his adherents ever think of—certainly never act on—"We must therefore view them (the British) as we view the rest of mankind— enemies in war—in peace *friends.*" It is their unceasing, inveterate *hatred* of G. Britain which is, as it long has

been, the chief source of all our disputes with that nation.

But I have not time for any further speculations on this subject; and I fear you will be wearied before you arrive at this page.

You ask, "Who is this Cook," whose speech you saw in the news-paper?—I'll tell you; a poor, vain, conceited democrat from the Province of Maine; and whose *public* (what-ever may be his *private*) morality may be defined by two words: With him, *power* and *right* are convertible terms. And he, with the majority of the several branches of our government, are now (in a case which I cannot at this moment conveniently explain) proceeding on this principle toward one European nation, by collusion with another: and for which (a favorite project of Jefferson) we shall probably one day deservedly suffer.

To return once more to the politics in your letter: I do not wish to see Britain stripped of any of her foreign possessions: for France would succeed to them *in fact,* in whose ever *name* they shall be held, As for *titles,* he might have, for ought I should care, as many and as lofty as were ever assumed by the most magnificent Eastern Monarchs. But *he* is not to be satisfied by such baubles. "Tis solid power, a power to sway the scepter of the World, which can alone satiate his ambition and his pride.—He will not listen to terms which Britain can accede to, without sealing her own destruction. The war must continue; how long, God only knows; but doubtless until the power of Britain is annihilated, or the unavailing efforts of Bonaparte shall induce him to yield to such an abandonment of power & influence on the continent, as shall divest him of the means of becoming the Tyrant of the World.

Most sincerely yours.

T. Pickering.

Timothy Pickering to Richard Peters.

Washington April 13. 1806.

Dear,

This is the last letter I shall send you from this city "four miles square." Last evening I received yours of the 10th. I am happy to learn that tho' suddenly attacked by one of Time's dread agents, you had sufficient vigour to give him a repulse: but you are not unmindful that sooner or later his assaults will be irresistable. I am alike happy that Marie & Sally are recovered or recovering. Such information of a family in which I have so many years felt so deep an interest, does indeed relieve me under such disastrous political pressures" as I have been doomed here to witness.

I little thought that you & I, who during a long period have thought so much alike on political subjects, should now, in our old age, be at odds. I see no reason to renounce my opinions. The veil will not soon be removed from the popular eye—if ever. I am no scholar: but I recollect, what experience has confirmed, that "Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis." If Jefferson had not been five years our president, I should not have believed it possible for one man, controuled by precise constitutional rules and laws, to produce such a revolution in politics & morals as we now see. Or were the people previously corrupt & base, and only waiting an occasion to display their real character? What could more disgrace and degrade a nation than the proceedings at this city during the past winter? The national spirit and dignity are gone—never to rise while Jefferson bears rule. And who will succeed? A man of character & ability? No: The feeble, timid Madison, or the dull Monroe: and in the latter case, such an ambitious, and at the same time unprincipled man as Randolph will be his prime minister. Fools & knaves will continue to be the general favourites of the people, until

the government is subverted. What will then turn up it is not difficult to conjecture. Just now we have no *royal timber,* but it is *growing;* and our children will see it in its *maturity.* As for *corruption* it as really, and I do not know but as extensively, exists here as in St. Stephen's chapel (if that is the place where sits the British parliament;) tho' the means of corruption are in some respects different. It is at present not convenient to distribute eagles here, like guineas there: but offices & contracts are prostituted to accomplish similar ends; and where these are wanting, all remaining principle gives way to popularity and the maintenance of party views.

You place the Hanoverian & the Corsican on the same line, as equal objects of *hatred:* and is there no difference in the condition of the subjects of those two monarchs? I need not answer or explain—nor have I time. Perhaps the people of Canada & Nova Scotia may be dissatisfied with their Royal Governments, tho' in the full enjoyment of *English liberty;* for mankind are seldom contented with their condition: but they would certainly be great fools voluntarily to become members of our boasted Republic.

But a truce to politics: in them you and I may differ: while in mutual affection we shall always be united.

Adieu!

Timothy Pickering.

P. S. Have you seen Madison's letter of March 31. in answer to one signed T. Fanniar, in behalf of the New-York merchants? It is a master-piece of obscure & pitiful evasion: Jefferson & Madison must have clubbed their wits in its production.

Dr. Benjamin Rush to Richard Peters.

Dear Sir,

I am so much accustomed to have my *opinions* and *Conduct* misrepresented, that I have ceased to com-

plain of my medical brethren upon that Account. The *tenor* of my lectures and publications have refuted the Calumnies upon the *former,* and the *issue* of my life will I hope refute the *latter.* I know from whence the falsehood was derived. The men who propagated it, did not believe it.

I believe brutes have souls, but I *never* said, nor *never* believed—that they were immortal. Wiser and better men than I shall ever be, have maintained the latter opinion, among whom I mentioned D^r^ Hartley and D^r^ Hildrop—the one an eminent philosopher and physician, the other—a pious & learned divine of the Church of England.

The lecture which has given occasion to the idle story you mention, is now printed. Whenever it is read, it will do us both justice.

I have interrogated a number of my pupils upon the Subject alluded to. They all understand me perfectly, and connected your name *only* with the Undertaking, or design of the lecture.

From Dear Sir
Yrs sincerely
Benj^m^: Rush

Novem^r^ 28. 1807.

P. S. I concluded after writing the above letter to defer sending it till I could accompany it with a Copy of the lecture. You will perceive that I have called the authors of the calumny you have mentioned "medical brethren." were I a Governor—I could call them INGRATES—LIARS—APOSTATES & TRAITORS.

Decem^r^ 12^th^. 1807

BREVET BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE MATHEWS.

A welcome addition to our very slender stock of information relating to the biography of this officer of the Revolutionary War is contained in the accompanying papers, in the handwriting of Col. Thomas Rodney, who was a member of the Continental Congress and, in later years, Judge of the U. S. Court for the territory of Mississippi. They were purchased at the recent sale, in Philadelphia, of the correspondence of Cæsar, Thomas, and Cæsar A. Rodney.

George Mathews served in the Indian Warfare in Virginia prior to the Revolutionary War; was appointed Colonel of the Ninth Virginia Regiment, February 10, 1777; and was wounded and taken prisoner at Germantown, October 4, 1777. He was not exchanged until Dec. 5, 1781. He then joined Gen. Greene's army in the South, as Colonel of the Third Virginia Regiment, and continued in Service until the close of the War. As to the character of this service we are not informed.

Removing, with his family, to Georgia in 1785, he was a representative from that State to the first Congress held under the Constitution of the United States; and served as Governor of Georgia from 1793 to 1796.

He died at Augusta, Ga., on August 30, 1812, aged 73 years.

It is evident from the statements made by Rodney in these papers that Gen. Mathews visited the Mississippi Territory—presnmably Natchez—for the purpose of seeing his Son, whom President Jefferson had appointed a Judge of one of the U. S. Courts of the Territory in 1805.

After reading Rodney's remarkable spelling of celebrated names of ancient times, it is difficult to repress a smile at his comment on the General's lack of accurate historical knowledge and his bad English.

Sunday March 31st 1805

Robt. Williams, Col. Steel, Major R. Claiborne, T. Stark, Mr. W. B. Shields and Myself Dined with Genl. Mathews to day by Invitation—The Genl. is an Old officer Commanded the 9th Virginia Regmt in the Revolution—Was in the Indian Battle near the Canawa River near Mount Pleasant and was wounded at Germain Town &c and Since the Revolution was Governor of Georgia when the Famous or Rather what some think the Infamous Misisipi Georgia Grants were made—He Came here and was Married last Summer to the widow Carpenter by My self—

The Genl. Was Talkative and spoke of Hanible, Sipeo, Fabricius, Carolanus, Marius, &c &c but his historical knowledge was detached and some Times he Erred as To Time and place and frequently Spoke bad English— yet he seemed To have a pretty Strong memory—& repeated parts of the Speaches of Hanible & Sipeo—yet combind parts of different Speeches together without distinction of Time & place &c He also fought his own Battles o'er & o'er & and gave us a good many other Anectdotes—In a word he was the Orator of the day—Seldom did any of us Interrupt him—I only now & then Expressed a few words to help to rectify some mistakes of Persons, Time & place in his Historical Sketches and I believd we left the Generl. highly pleased With himself—The Genl. However is a Ruff brave old Soldier—and is in many respects Respectable —nor does he lack Strong Talants but all his Opertunities have not polished them much—His wife is an Amiable woman—

To day Munday April 1. 1805. I went to Natches in

My Carriage and Took Stark With me—Dined at Boumonts—but Visited M^{rs}. Murry, M^{rs}. Wooldridge and M^{rs}. Claiborne and returned in the Evening—Met Fitspatrick With Col. Girault, going to Natches—just before My Coffee Came in the Evening M^{r}. Brandon & M^{r}. Leamon Called & Took a glass of wine & I Promissed to go to Brandons before he Sets of for the States—some Time next week.

Memo.

When I Dined with Gen^{l}. Mathews at his own House He was disposed To Tell his Military Exploits—When he Dined with me a few days ago he was disposed to relate his Civil adventures as a Councillor &^{c}.

He was in Congress on the first Meeting and Organization of the Federal Government—and related Several anectdotes Shewing how he had Conducted himself and what his Sentiments had been on sever Important questions which also involved the Conduct and Sentiments of several other Members of Congress particularly M^{r}. Madisons the Present Secret^{y}. of the U. S.

The General was reputed a brave officer—was in The Battle with the Indians at Point Pleasant at the Mouth of the Great Canawa River—and received 5 wounds in the Battle of German Town—was a Prisoner some time to the Brittish & resided on Long Island—Since the War he has been a Representative in Congress & was once Governor of Georgia at the Time of the Yazoo Speculations—

He is Still Healthy and Active & Comfortably Settled in this Territory Misisipi—

SOME LETTERS FROM THE DREER COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS.

Cecil Calvert to Horatio Sharp.

London June 12th. 1755.

Sir

Yrs. of the 10th. of April, by way of Philadelphia I have recd. It is a concern to my Lord to understand from You the Lower House have shewn so little Regard to His Lordps Instruction for an Amendmt. of the Inspection Tobacco Law, (my Lord is Satisfy'd you have done well your part therein). Obstinancy of Others agt. the Superior Judgemt. well-advised and with Candour laid before a particular Community to Rectifye Mistakes, the Non-Compliance therewith is of the greatest consequence, as it Indangers much Harm to the whole Wellfare of a People.—It is with equal concern to him to know from you their Unwillingness & not to Grant Aid in Support & defence of their Self-preservation agt. an Enemy to their King Country, & in offer so to Do to Infringe on their Lord's Right, without any Consideration to him: My Lord doubts not of your Rectitude to him therein & that you will Abide & follow His Instructions with You, concerning Ordinary Licences—The Kingdom here Cry, Out shame on Pen——a! their non-support of the injured Common Cause of their King & Country—I find by yrs. you have not since General Bradock's arrival want'd Company at Annapolis, as it seems to a been the Place of General meeting for the Council of War—His Lordp. is therein greatly pleased, as it Lusters Honour to his Province & to You His Governor & of money Advantage to his Metropolis.

It wou^{d}. also be a great Satisfaction to him w^{h}. he hopes to hear of y^{r}. reaping Advantage by the means of the General for the Manifest Services you have rendered his Majesty; may all Success attend His Troops under the General Conduct at Wills's Creek & drive far off the French out of Mongahala Fort in the Ohio Country —His Lord^{p}. thinks it a Happiness that the Troops of His Provinces of w^{h}. you mention are taken into the English Regiments & deemed by the General of Service in Support of the present Exigency of Affairs, & hopes the Province will not be wanting in the Increase of the remainder left of Forces.

In my last I hinted to you ab^{t}. a Complaint of One M^{r}. Stewart a Contractor with the Goverm^{t}. here for the Transportation of Felons, since w^{h}. he has presented the Proprietor with a Memorial w^{h}. I here transmit you & an Extract Copy of His Case to M^{r}. Murray Attor^{y} General with a Copy of my Letter, his Lord^{ps} Answer relative to M^{r}. Stewarts Memorial, w^{h}. I hope will Quiet at least at present that affair—His Lord^{p} desires I will Note to You & hopes you will have a peculiar Care How you let pass any Act of Assembly ag^{t}. & in Face of An Act of Parliament here.

I beg your Care of M^{r}. Ross sending after all Sessions the Acts of Assembly the last Journals came without any of the Laws.

I here Inclose You the Bill of Exch^{e}. drawn by M^{rs}. Mary Young you sent me of £46:18 with a Protest w^{h}. I beg you'l favour me with a return as soon as possible, it will be of great service to me.

All things are Quiet here. Admiral Boscawen has not been heard of since he Sailed to the Westward. Nine Sail of the French are said to be return'd into Brest, the Rest of their Fleet took their departure West with the Transports fill'd with Troops. The Admiralty here are daily Commissioning more ships.

Twenty three Ride at Anchor at Spithead Complete of the Line.

With peculiar Esteem
Y^r^. very Obliged h^ble^ Serv^t^.
Cecil^s^: Calvert.

Post.

My Lord is Surprised at M^r^. Lloyd's detention of his money. Next Mich^mas^ he will two years with^t^. acco^ns^. w^h^. M^r^. Tasker annualy did. Pray Remind him it gives uneasyness

To
His Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq^r^.

Cecil Calvert to Horatio Sharp.

London Nov^r^. 22^d^. 1757.

S^ir^.

M^r^. Russell's ship on her departure affords me but time to Acknowledge from You by Cap^t^. Coolidge three Boxes contain^s^. The Acts of Maryland pass'd by You at a Sessions of Assembly the 8^th^. of April last—Draughts of His Lord^ps^. [torn out] us & a Rent-Roll Book of Ann Arundell County 1755. It seemes Exemplify'd agreeable to Instruction, but the want of the Judges of the Land Office Atestation before You, with the Seal of the Land Office fix'd to the Book, as Stamps of Authority to any Court of Law. His Lord^p^. desires you'l forward the Others, executed with proper Authority.

An Irishman on viewing the Chart of Prince George's County, you sent, He said, done by my Country Man, Topsy-Turvy! The Chart as it hangs, Patuxent River is S., Potomack River N. On the Globe is Vice Versa. Hang the Chart right as to Earth & Water N. & S., than all the written Characters are—Topsy-Turvy—The remark is to prevent Blunders, as to the remaind^r^. of Charts to be sent.

I am with all respect
Y^rs^. Sincerely
Cecil^s^: Calvert.

Post.

I wrote you ye. 7th. April ye. 10th of May ye 23d. Octr. Novr. 18th. inclosed His Lordps. Instns. The 23d. of Octr. To reject the Virginia Petition & to insist on the whole Passage. I've recd. a Letr. from Mr. Jenkins Henry of the Council (inclosed in Mr. Lloyd's Packet) chalenging a Debt on Acct. of Charges attendg. the Execution on behalf of Ld. Baltimore for runing the Line bt. Maryland & Pennsylvania. I know not of it, nor have I time to write him please to inquire his Contents, on his transmitting me the Demand, I'll tender it to His Lordp. my respects to him. St. John Mordaunt its said by the Report of Inquiry to His Majesty concerning his Conduct on ye Expedition to Rochaford will suffer Disgrace. I've not seen My Lord abt. Mr. W——n's affair, but sure I think he will desist concerning; I will do every thing not to Effect you & shall take all Opportunity of rendering you Service for yr. manifest services performed & mentioned in yrs. of the 1st. of Augt. I've recd a Letr. from Mr. Young, who I understand is Married to Mr. Dulany's Sister, My Lord is satisfyed with yrs. & Mr. Gaskin's Junr. Notice of his insufficiency to be of the Council of State. Mr. Lloyd's obstinacy will bring on him His Lordp's. Instruction abt. Exchanging Rent-Roll-Keeper of the Western shore to yt. of the Eastern, wh. perhaps may Occasion his remove, in Case it shold., the Messrs. Tasker's will not be acceptable, My Lord having several reasons why not. I hear Mr. Tasker Junr. designs for England, Mr. Bladen is ambitious for his purpose, an attempt has been, I am steady to you agt. all others Device agt. you, Speak not of this Hint to anye Inclosed is the London Gazettee of the Glorious Victory Obtained by His Majesty of Prussia agt. the Combined Army of France & Austria On the 5th. of Novr. this Instant near Weissinfels & Marreburg & Halle.

To His Excellr. Horatio Sharpe Esqr. Lt. Governr. in Maryland.

Robert Dinwiddie to ——.

Williamsburg Janʳ. 11th: 1755.

Sir

The Bearer hereof Mr Robert Calender brought me Your Bill on me for £497..4..6 which I immediately paid & this Day I received Yours of the 8th: & I am much of Opinion that You had better meet Your Assembly & endeavour to persuade them to grant a further Supply. The Packet by this Bearer was wrote some Days ago for Mr. Wolstenholmes but he is not yet come from Hampton, to that Letter I pray to be referred. The Bearer also brings a Packet from England, which I wish safe to Your Hands.

The Packets I have from England do not require the imediate meeting of our Assembly, as it is chiefly to endeavour to get a further Supply of Money, which I cannot at this Time expect, as they could not know at Home the last Vote of 20,000.

Last Night Sr. John St. Clair arrived here, in His Majesty's Ship Gibralter; & with him two Lieutt. Colonels for the two Regiments to be raised to the Northward, & they propose paying their Respects to You soon. Sir John St. Clair is appointed Quarter Master General of all the Forces; he & I go to Hampton Tomorrow Morning to provide an Hospital for the Forces expected from Ireland, which he say's may be daily expected to arrive; On his Return he proposes going for Wills's Creek, to give some Directions for building Barracks for receiving the Troops expected.

Therefore I conceive it very proper You should send Your Orders to Wills's Creek, to direct so many People as may be wanted to Compleat that essential & necessary Business.

I find that the two Regiments expected here are to be Compleated to 700 Men each, & a Supply from the Recruits raised in these Colonies of 400 Men. I have

agreed with the Bearer for 100 Horses, Saddles, Bridles, Belts &c^{a}. forty to be delivered at Wills's Creek the first Week in Feb^{y}. & Sixty the first of March; for which he is to have 10 £ ℔ Pss. & is to carry two hundred weight of Flour upon each Horse to be paid at the Market Prices.

I wish You Health & Happiness & am

Sir

Your most obed^{t}. Ser^{t}.

Rob^{t}. Dinwiddie

P:S: When You draw on me for Money I beg the Favour of a Letter as they are Strangers that bring the Notes.

Robert Dinwiddie to ——.

London, April 9th 1764.

Sir

Tis a long time since I had the favour of a letter from you—Tho' I frequently hear from your Brothers of your being in good health, yet a line from yourself wou'd be very acceptable—The Bearer hereof (Mr. Lee) who married the daughter of Mr. Russell, a merchant here, beg'd a letter from me to introduce him to your Excellency, which I readily complied with, as his behaviour here was very agreeable. I therefore recommend him to your wonted Civilities & friendship.

Our Ministry here does not appear to be properly settled, the great men quarrelling for the lucrative employments—This session of Parliament has been greatly engaged on our Colonies & think they should now be at the charge of paying & maintaing the Forces necessary for their protection against the Indians &c. Every person here acquainted with the Colonies represented their Incapacity of bearing such Expence—They proposed a Stamp duty in general to all the Colonies—Arguments against all interior Duties were urged, as contrary to the plan of Settlement, that all Interior

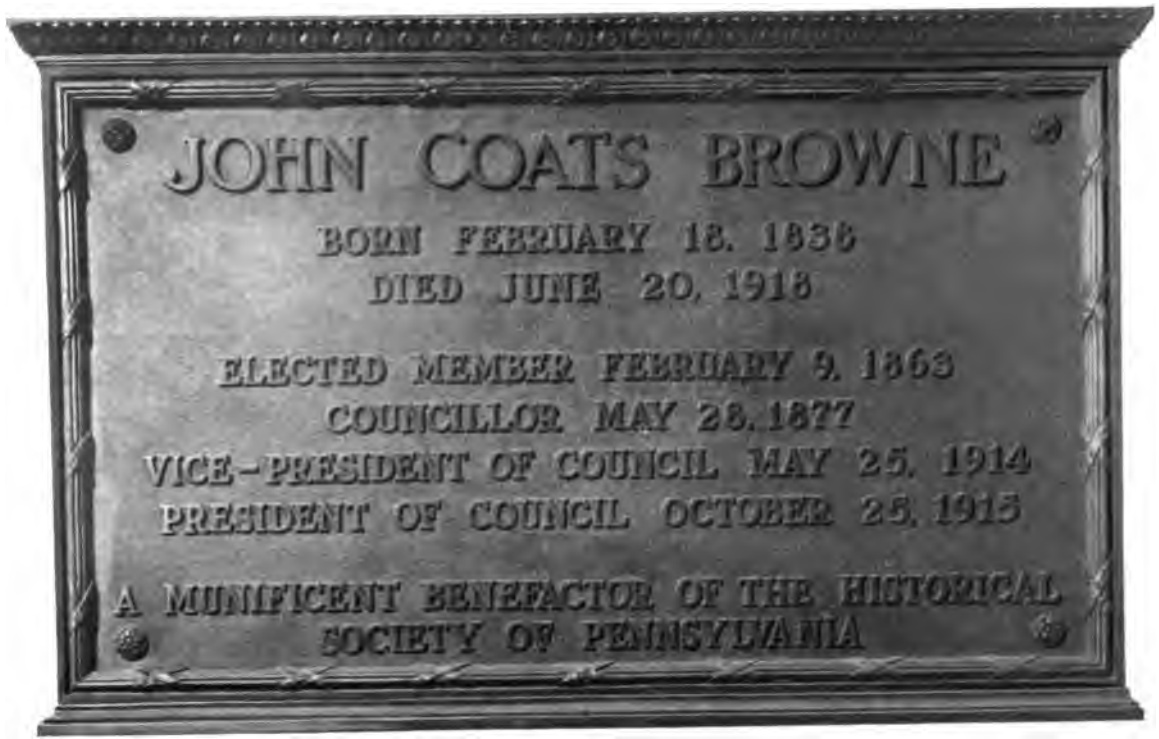
duties ought to be laid by their own Legislative bodies. It is suspended for this year but thought it may be renew'd next session of Parliament—Duties are laid on Melasses from the French Islands at 3^{d} p gallon, Wine imported £^{s} p. Ton, and some other duties on goods imported to the Colonies, but as the Act is not yet published, I cannot be particular, but must refer you to your Brothers, and your Secretary Mr. Calvert.

It will give me great pleasure to receive a Letter from you with the news in your part of the World, especially in regard to the Barbarities from the Indians—

My Wife and Daughters join me in sincere Respects & hearty wishes for your health &c, and I remain in great truth

Your Excellency's
Most obed^{t}. humble Serv^{t}.
Rob^{t}. Dinwiddie

P. S. I have been in a very bad state of health ever since my arrival here which obliges me to go twice a year to Bath.


JOHN COATS BROWNE
BORN FEBRUARY 18. 1836
DIED JUNE 20. 1918
ELECTED MEMBER FEBRUARY 9. 1863
COUNCILLOR MAY 28. 1877
VICE-PRESIDENT OF COUNCIL MAY 25. 1914
PRESIDENT OF COUNCIL OCTOBER 25. 1915
A MUNIFICENT BENEFACTOR OF THE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

BRONZE TABLET IN MEMORY OF JOHN C. BROWNE, UNVEILED.

A Stated Meeting of the Society was held in the Hall of the Society, Monday, November 8, 1920, at 8 o'clock, P. M., President Hon. Charlemagne Tower in the chair.

An address, illustrated with lantern slides, was delivered by Hon. Thomas L. Montgomery, Litt. D., State Librarian, on "Cumberland Valley and its Associations."

The meeting then adjourned to the adjoining Reading Room of the Society where a bronze tablet in memory of John C. Browne, President of the Council of the Society, was unveiled by his daughter, Mrs. Henry Potts. It was presented to the Society by Mr. Edward S. Sayres, chairman of the committee of the Council who superintended the making of it, and was accepted by President Tower. Vice President Hon. Hampton L. Carson then delivered an address in honor of Mr. Browne.

BALANCE SHEET OF THE TREASURER, HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, DECEMBER 31, 1919.

Dr.

Investment	$313,750.00
Real Estate	155,586.63
Binding Fund (Income)	564.48
Gregory B. Keen, Curator	800.00
John W. Jordan, Librarian	100.00
General Fund (Income)	7,803.76
Cash	11,555.82
	$490,160.69

Cr.

General Fund (Principal)	$162,401.31
Binding Fund (Principal)	7,229.68
Building Fund (Principal)	1,183.81
Publication Fund (Income)	1,298.11
Dreer Fund (Principal)	19,332.94
Howard Williams Lloyd Fund (Principal)	5,000.00
Howard Williams Lloyd Fund (Income)	811.13
Library Fund (Principal)	20,505.00
Library Fund (Income)	1,323.71
Endowment Fund (Income)	2,290.93
Endowment Fund (Principal)	101,177.74
Smedley Fund (Principal)	2,132.37
Smedley Fund (Income)	442.83
Dreer Fund (Income)	3,463.30
Study Fund (Income)	809.21
English Record Copying Fund (Income)	634.71
Lanier Fund (Principal)	1,937.00
Lanier Fund (Income)	249.07
Stille Trust Fund (Principal)	10,000.00
Stille Trust Fund (Income)	225.52
R. J. Walker Endowment Memorial Fund (Prin.)	50,000.00
R. J. Walker Endowment Memorial Fund (In.)	12,237.72
Lamberton Trust Fund (Principal)	2,375.00
Lamberton Trust Fund (Income)	213.86
Wm. H. Jordan Governor Portrait Fund (Prin.)	1,000.00
Wm. H. Jordan Governor Portrait Fund (Income)	130.72
Stille Burial Lot Trust Fund	200.00
Thomas Balch Fund (Principal)	1,288.05
C. Percy de La Roche Fund (Principal)	400.00

C. Percy de La Roche Fund (Income)	$230.37
Elise Willing Balch Fund (Principal)	5,000.00
Elise Willing Balch Fund (Income)	547.55
Elizabeth Swift Shippen Fund (Principal)	5,000.00
Elizabeth Swift Shippen Fund (Income)	297.29
Chas. Morton Smith Fund (Principal)	20,000.00
Chas. Morton Smith Fund (Income)	953.26
Thomas Balch Fund (Income)	45.45
Publication Fund (Principal)	42,637.76
Simon Gratz Fund (Principal)	10,000.00
Simon Gratz Fund (Income)	591.00
Emily Swift Balch Fund (Principal)	5,048.55
Emily Swift Balch Fund (Income)	236.60
George DeB. Keim Fund (Income)	293.14
	$490,160.69

GIFTS.

The Librarian reports the following special gifts:

Mrs. John F. Combs, to the Binding Fund, $1000.00.

To the Ferdinand J. Dreer Collection were added, 101 Manuscripts, among them a rare letter of Rev. John Davenport to Governor Winthrop, 1661.

From the Genealogical Society:

Cumberland County, N. J., Marriages, 1795–1837; Cape May County, N. J., Marriages, 1694–1830; St. Peter's Lutheran Church, Barren Hill, Pa., 1851–1919; Cohansey Baptist Church, Cumberland County, N. J., 1757–1857; 1802–1878; Troth Papers, Vols. 7, 8, 9; Burlington County, N. J., Marriages, 1795–1826; Burial Records, Board of Health, Philadelphia, 1815–1824; Christ Evangelical Lutheran Church, York, Pa., Baptisms, 1733–1735.

7403 Letters and documents, gift of Mr. Simon Gratz.

450 Letters, documents and muster rolls of Gen. Anthony Wayne, relating to his expedition against the Indians of the Northwest, through Mrs. Charles L. Murphy.

17 Orderly Books, of Gen. Wayne's expedition against the Indians, gift of Mrs. John M. Wirgman.

A large collection of books, magazines, pamphlets and engravings relating to the late war, and a letter of Gen. Washington to Major Cliff dated August 18, 1782, gift of Hon. Hampton L. Carson.

46 original documents, deeds, marriage certificates, 1680–1829, gift of Mrs. Charles Morton Smith.

Ledger of Thomas Denham, 1726–28, who employed Franklin in his office on his return from England, from the Charles Morton Smith Fund.

Desk of Robert Morris, gift of Mrs. James Mifflin.

1 Syllabub Bowl of the Revolution, gift of Mrs. Craig D. Ritchie.

Portrait of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, Estate of Richard M. Cadwalader.

A collection of Manuscripts and documents of Hon. James H. Camp-

bell, U. S. Minister to Sweden; Commissions and instructions signed by Lincoln, Seward and Stanton; 8 portraits by Thomas Sully, S. B. Waugh, Mrs. Darley, Mary J. Peale and others; 5 silhouettes by J. Henry Brown of Hon. Ellis Lewis and members of the Campbell family; medal of the "First Defenders," 1861, of James H. Campbell and other miscellaneous articles, gift of Dr. A. Keightly, London, England.

Letter of William Penn, and 406 engraved portraits, gift of Mrs. C. M. Thomas.

Collection of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and papers of the late Hon. Judge James T. Mitchell, from Mrs. E. Dallett Hemphill.

437 Camouflage designs for vessels, used during the late war, gift of Mitchell S. Beck.

6 Books and 160 selected pamphlets, gift of B. H. Shoemaker, 2d.

374 Local Magazines, gift of Mrs. John F. Combs.

59 Manuscripts and 300 engravings, gift of Mrs. Charles F. Jenkins.

Blue silk sash worn by William Penn in Pennsylvania, a gift of Mary, widow of William Penn, Jr., to George Phillips of Stoke Ferry; referred to in Clarkson's "Life of William Penn," gift of Miss M. Fassitt.

Snuff box with gold medallion of Napoleon set in lid; small statuette in bronze of Bonaparte; portrait of Cora Monges, painted by Princess Charlotte Bonaparte, Estate of Miss Cora Monges.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

WANTED—COPIES OF LETTERS OF ANDREW JACKSON.

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington is collecting the material for an edition, in several volumes, of the Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, to be edited by Professor John S. Bassett of Smith College, Jackson's biographer. All persons who possess letters of General Jackson or important letters to him, or who know where there are collections of his correspondence, or even single letters, would confer a favor by writing to Dr. J. F. Jameson, director of the department named, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

"THE COCK-FIGHTER."—In the January number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, page 73, we printed *The Cock-Fighter. An unpublished poem by Francis Hopkinson*, without the name of the contributor. We take pleasure in stating that we are indebted to Prof. George E. Hastings, of the University of Arkansas, at Fayetteville, for the contribution.

ED. PENNA. MAG.

PROBABLY FIRST ATTEMPT AT A BUSINESS DIRECTORY IN PHILADELPHIA.

Cooppers	*House Carpenter*	*Brick layers & Masons*
x Nath[l]: Allen	x Thomas Bradford	John Sanders
x Nehemiah Allen	John Parsons	Emanuall Dorson
Sam[el]: Holt	John Densey	John Readman
Phillip James	Thomas Harding	Thomas Hobbs
John Pinnerd	W[m][ll]: Harrod	Thomas Dackett
Sam[el]: Neall	John Songgers	John Coomes
Ro[t] yealdhall	Tho[s] Master	
	x James Pillor	

Talors	*Clock Makers*	*Sadlors*
John Mackcooms	Abell Cottey	W[m] Robinson
Thom[s] Worton		John Heath
John Marting		Ric[d] Sutten
John Jennings		
W[m] Boling		
John Isnett		

Printors	*Bruors*	*Putorors*
Andrew Bradford	Ben[a] Framton	x Thomas Paskall
Ronear Johnson	Henry Badcock	
	Joshua Carpentor	

Silvor Smiths	*Shumakers*	*Ship Wrights*
Sezor Gisling	John Jones	James West
John Denise	John Howard	John Ashton
	Danill Jones	John Penrose
	W[m] Bevan	Nath[l]: Lamppley
		Dennis Linch

Plasterers	*Blockmakers*	*Cabenett Makers or Joyners*
Anthony Burges	W^m Carter	Abraham Hoopper
Rob^t. Wollis		Abraham Coffen
		John Fellows

Black Smiths
John Fisher
Thomas Pert

Ric^d Cantrill brickmaker

The Names that Is Crost Came In y^e furst Ship that Came from Englund 1681 y^e year before y^e Propariutor In a larg Ship y^e 11 D^r 10^mo landed att Chester the Cap^ts Name was Roger Drew y^e Ships Name Bristol Facktor

y^e furst Publick howses In Philad

The Blew Anker	{ Cap^t James { W^d Cox	
The Skales	John Test	
The Gloab	Stone Steps	Proud
The Crokked billitt	Alic Gees	
Pevter Platter	John Knight	
Pennepott Hows		
The Hachett	W^d Terrill	
Three Tunns	G. Emb^d	

Book Notices.

ENGLISH NOTES: A RARE AND UNKNOWN WORK, BEING A REPLY TO CHARLES DICKENS'S "AMERICAN NOTES." With Critical Comments by Joseph Jackson and George H. Sargent. Lewis M. Thompson, New York, 1920. 8vo, pp. 182. Portraits.

Notwithstanding the criticism created by the publication of "American Notes," by Charles Dickens, very few of the many replies have been reprinted in book form. By some curious accident the most interesting reply of all has until recently escaped notice—"English Notes, | intended for | Very Extensive Circulation! | By | Quarles Quickens, Esq. | Boston: | Published at the Daily Mail Office. | 1842. | " A decade or more ago a dilapidated copy of this pamphlet of 16 pages, small quarto, was purchased in Philadelphia and eventually acquired by Mr. Joseph Jackson, who, after careful reading, "was convinced that the writer was posing as a person of less than ordinary literary attainments, while he occasionally forgot the part he was playing and displayed remarkable genius." That point will be readily conceded by anyone who has the good fortune to possess a copy of Mr. Thompson's reprint. Mr. Jackson, after studying the subject with great care, came to the conclusion that the pamphlet was written by Edgar Allan Poe, who used the pseudonym of "Quarles" in publishing "The Raven." Mr. Jackson in his foreword to this reprint sets out in tabular form his reasons for attributing it to Poe, and they are weighty ones. There is no record of Poe having asserted his claim to its authorship, but there are traces of certain characteristics of his that distinguish his writings.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Vol. VII, No. 3. Philadelphia, 1920.

This is the third and concluding number of Volume VII of the publications of the Society, and it is not exceeded in interest and

of the Labor Party, National Guilds, the Whitley Councils, and the present relation between industrial and political life.

THE HISTORY OF VALLEY FORGE. By Henry Woodman. John U. Francis, Sr., Oaks, Penna., 1920. 8vo, pp. 156. Illustrated.

Edward Woodman, father of the writer of the letters under notice, was a soldier of the North Carolina Continental Line; spent the winter at Valley Forge with his regiment, and was finally mustered out of the army, on the Hudson, in August of 1782. With two companions he started on foot for his home, a visit to Valley Forge, to see what changes had taken place in the encampment and renew old acquaintances being part of the program. After a few days' sojourn there Woodman was taken down by a serious illness and his companions were forced to leave him in care of the family of Abijah Stephens. On his recovery he decided to locate permanently at Valley Forge, obtained employment, and about five years later married Sarah Stephens, a daughter of his benefactor. Their third son, Henry Woodman, was the author of the Letters. "My mother," states Woodman, "at the time of the encampment was in her nineteenth year, resided with her father, whose farm was within the limits of the camp. . . . Often in the days of my childhood I have listened with deep interest to the relation of events of that period, from neighbors who had witnessed the same things . . . . and I used to accompany my father as he traversed the ground of the encampment where the foundations of the huts, the fortifications and breastworks were still visible, and listened to him while pointing out some particular objects. Impressions were then made upon my mind never to be forgotten." At the age of 55 years, Henry Woodman was induced to prepare for publication his recollections of the Camp, and in a series of 32 letters they appeared in the *Bucks County Intelligencer*. Since the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania acquired the site of the encampment, the republication of Woodman's letters has been so general that his descendants have printed them in book form with illustrations. Everybody interested in the encampment at Valley Forge will find it helpful in their researches.

LIST OF PHILADELPHIA SILVERSMITHS AND ALLIED ARTIFICERS FROM 1682 TO 1850. By Maurice Brix. Philadelphia, 1920. 8vo, pp. 125. Privately printed.

The object of this work has been to give a list of the silversmiths of Philadelphia from 1682 to 1850, to meet the many inquiries on the subject, and to this end public and private collections, as well as the advertisements in the local newspapers, directories and other sources, have been examined. It will be recognized as being the most complete and authentic of its kind published. For easy reference it has been arranged in alphabetical order. At the end of the book will be found an Appendix containing the names of silversmiths outside of Philadelphia, which are not contained in any other lists. It should be stated that the author has in preparation a more comprehensive work, illustrated with photographs of the Philadelphia silversmiths' marks and work.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WORKS OF THOMAS SULLY, ARTIST (1783–1872). By Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding. Royal Square octavo, illustrated with engraved portrait of the artist, and numerous photogravure illustrations of his paintings. Limited edition, 450 copies. Subscription price $15.00. Large paper edition, 50 signed copies, price $35.00.

This important work, which will soon be ready for publication, will give the career of Mr. Sully as an artist, and a catalogue of the works

the existing unrest, argues that the labor scarcity is not entirely due to decrease in the number of laborers, and suggests many effects of the unrest itself on production and on labor. It is a thoughtful study by a keen, open-minded employer, contributing to one of the most important discussions of the day.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, 1803–1812. By Everett Somerville Brown, Ph.D., Berkeley, Calif. 8vo, pp. 248.

This interesting monograph on a striking feature in the history of the United States, is Volume X of the University of California Publications in History. Prof. Brown has added many important details to the printed accounts of United States history: for instance he has given for the first time the detailed story of the Senate debate on the Breckinridge Bill. Then, too, there is much to be learned of the struggle between correct theory and actual practice in government from tracing Jefferson's plans for the settlement and government of Louisiana. The status of the inhabitants of territories—so fruitful a theme for controversy even to the present day; the control of slavery and the slave trade by Congress, set forth with startling bitterness in the Senate debate on the Breckinridge Bill, and the Indian and land questions, incidental to American westward expansion, all have new light shed upon them. This study has been confined principally to the lower part of the province purchased from France, which was organized as Orleans Territory and which later entered the Union as the State of Louisiana.

THE LINCOLN HIGHWAY IN PENNSYLVANIA. By Robert Bruce.

How the primitive road cut in 1758 by General John Forbes across the Alleghany Mountains of Western Pennsylvania, enabling his army to take Fort DuQuesne, was in course of time connected with the old Provincial Highway from Philadelphia to Lancaster, making the first through route from the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers to the Ohio, is told with interesting detail by Robert Bruce in the opening chapter of a new volume, "The Lincoln Highway in Pennsylvania." Later, as travel and commerce increased, the old Provincial Road formed the basis of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike, the earliest improved thoroughfare of its length in the United States. The identity of these old original units has long since been lost, and the Philadelphia-Pittsburgh route now comprises about 10 per cent. of a great transcontinental line. But no other equal mileage along that great thoroughfare from coast to coast compares with this section, in the Keystone State, for historical associations. On the way out of Philadelphia toward the west may still be found the largest number of well-preserved old taverns, for the same distance, in the entire country. General Anthony Wayne was born within about a mile of the route, and was buried in the cemetery of "Old St. Davids at Radnor," less than two miles away from it. Valley Forge is distant only about four miles as one passes through Devon, and many make this wonderfully interesting side-trip. Both branches of the Brandywine are crossed, only a few miles above the field where the battle was fought. The route passes almost directly through Gettysburg, and from Gettysburg to Chambersburg the traveler runs over the same roads that were used by the Confederate forces on their march toward the world-famous battlefield. A few miles beyond Chambersburg the mountain ranges begin and the route takes on an entirely different aspect; echoes of stage-coach and freight-wagon days become clearer, and more old taverns attract attention. Then, almost before one is aware, begins the descent into the Ohio Valley at Pittsburgh, and by an interesting side-trip from Turtle Creek, just before entering the "East End" of Pittsburgh, one may run through Braddock

together with a contextual key to the context printed opposite. Penn's main interest in the key as one out of several editors of the New Testament who have indicated the difficulty about the end of Mark, but none of the others give the actual truncated ending as he does. It also agrees with noted Armenian MSS. from the year 887 (the oldest we know) down to one in the British Museum, penned in the fifteenth century. It is the latter of these Armenian MSS. which concludes the key to the context, ending with the remark: "This mute story is almost as tragic as the resurrection. Surrounded by powerful and superstitious enemies, the Armenians refused for a thousand years to corrupt the Four Gospels." We cannot go into the well-known problem of how Testament Lower Criticism involved. For Philadelphians the interest in the volume before us lies in two poems: *Fairmount Park* and a *Fairmount Carnival*. Each poem has historical notes appended, and the second one is based on Edmund Hogan's Directory for 1795, which is reproduced in extenso. Both poems were written between 1902 and 1906, and the former portrays a very different Park from the pleasure-ground which we know today. In those years the Park was a favorite resort of poets, who could be alone with nature in a spot where human civilization always kept sacred. The extreme dates of the poems are 1880—1928, and the author's best for forty years are here collected.

Blockade Runners and Ships Lost at Sea in General Commercial Traffic and a Brief History of Blockade Runners Stranded along the North Carolina Coast, 1861–1865. By James Sprunt. Wilmington, N. C., 1920. Pp. 104. Illustrated.

The title to this volume is appropriate, as much space is given to descriptions, many of them left as derelicts along the North Carolina coast, and as a contribution to the history of blockade running during the Civil War is valuable, as so much of it carries the weight of first-hand authority. The personal experiences of the author as an officer on a number of blockade runners and as a Federal prisoner of war are entertainingly recited and free from that partisan vituperation which mars so much of what has been written on the "War between the States." The natural advantages of Wilmington, North Carolina, for blockade running were very great, chiefly owing to the fact that there were two separate and distinct approaches to Cape Fear River, made it a point of entry and distribution of war material throughout the South. The naval defenses of the port and its business activities connected with the blockade necessitated the Federal Government to maintain a large fleet off the Carolina coast. Mr. Sprunt is of the opinion that it was the Navy which contributed more than any other arm of the Federal forces to the final defeat of the Southern Confederacy.

The Illinois Country, 1673–1818. By Clarence Walworth Alvord. Vol. I. Springfield, 1920. 8vo, pp. 522. Illustrated.

The Industrial State, 1870–1893. By Ernest Ludlow Bogart and Charles Manfred Thompson. Vol. IV. Springfield, 1920. 8vo, pp. 553. Illustrated.

The Modern Commonwealth, 1893–1918. By Ernest Ludlow Bogart and John Mabry Mathews. Vol. V. Springfield, 1920. 8vo, pp. 544. Illustrated.

These are three of the later volumes of the Illinois Centennial Publications published by authority of the Illinois Centennial Commission, under the general editorship of Prof. Clarence W. Alvord. The work of the editors has been done well: the volumes fill an appropriate place in the series and serve a useful historical purpose. All the volumes are well indexed and contain bibliographical appendices.

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